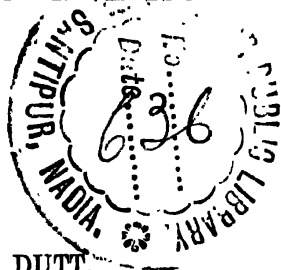


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THE
GREAT WARS OF INDIA.



BY

SHOSHEE CHUNDER DUTT.

And laugh at this fantastic mummery,
This antic prelude of grotesque events,
Where dwarfs are often stilted, and betray
A littleness of soul by worlds o'errun,
And nations laid in blood.

YOUNG'S *Night Thoughts*—Night vi.

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THE GREAT WARS OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

WE do not intend to write a history of India, but only to give a brief and continuous account of the great wars which have been waged in it. These necessarily mark the turning-points of history—namely, the rise and fall of States, races, and dynasties; but the seasons of peace and plenty—the angel-visits in the records of time which it would be incumbent on the general historian especially to dwell upon—will not be noticed by us. We shall not even notice all the wars which have disturbed the country, but those only which were either great in themselves or great in the revolutions they effected. The valleys of the Indus and the Ganges have rung with victories as memorable, and have been saddened by defeats as signal, as any that have occurred on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube, and a remembrance of these at the present moment, when we are constantly threatened with European and Central Asian difficulties, will perhaps not be held to be altogether unnecessary.

The history of India naturally divides itself into three parts—namely, the Hindu, the Mahomedan, and the

English periods. The first is of course by far the most important ; but the accounts extant of it are unfortunately exceedingly imperfect, as the Hindus never had any historical writings. To leave out all notice of the period, however, would be a great mistake ; nor is such complete omission imperative, since the labours of our orientalists and antiquarians have succeeded in scraping together a large amount of information about it which, if not historically true, is still not unworthy of belief. All such information as can be applied to our present purpose will be freely utilised.

Leaving aside the travelling expedition of Osiris from Egypt, the first great war waged in India of which we know anything was that which was fought between Semiramis and Stabrobates, which must have occurred in the second or third century after the Flood. The next was the expedition of Bacchus, Sesostris, or Parusrám, which, according to the Hindu accounts, was a war of races fought between the Bráhmans and the Kshetrias. The third, in the order of time, was the war of the second Ráma, or Rámchandra of Ayodhyá, with Rávana, in Southern India, which was a war of religions, being apparently the first great war between Bráhmanism and Buddhism, the Buddhists being represented as Rákshases. The fourth was probably the invasion of Oghuz Khán of Tartary, whose era, however, cannot be precisely determined. The fifth was the invasion of Hercules, or Balatrám (the third Ráma) and Krishna, which was almost contemporaneous with the sixth, the war of the Mahábhárut, an international war, fought out apparently by two Scythic clans a short time after their settlement in the country. Then, after a long interval, come the Persian invasions of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes ; and then the

invasion of Alexander the Great, which was the first of the great wars of which we have authentic information. The wars of Vikramáditya and Saliváhana, which ought next to be noticed, are not much known in their details. They were followed by six centuries of impervious darkness which it is impossible even to grope through.

The second, or Mahomedan, period of Indian history opens with the Arab invasions of the country, which were followed by the expeditions of Subaktágin, Máhmood of Ghazni, and Mahomed or Sháhábudeen of Ghor, by the last of whom and his slave Kuttubudeen Ibek, the sovereignty of the Mahomedans in India was founded. From this date to the end of the Mahomedan era the country was always in a state of anarchy and confusion, caused alike by mutinies and rebellions, and by wars of conquest and aggrandisement, both of which were equally frequent. The Mahomedans, as Abdool Wássaf expresses it, found India to be "the most agreeable abode on the earth, and the most pleasant quarter of the world ; the dust of which was purer than air, and the air purer than purity itself." Its delightful plains were regarded by them as "the garden of paradise," and the particles of its earth as "rubies and corals." "If it is asserted," says he, "that paradise is in India, be not surprised that paradise itself is not comparable to it." The eagerness to plunder this paradise was generally the cause of the wars that distracted it ; and very soon the paradise was converted by its desecrators into a hell, both for themselves and the unfortunate races they brought under subjection. All the disturbances thus created will not require to be recapitulated, as they were generally not "great" wars, in any sense of that term. We shall only refer to the wars of Buktyár Khiliji in Bengal and Behár ; those of

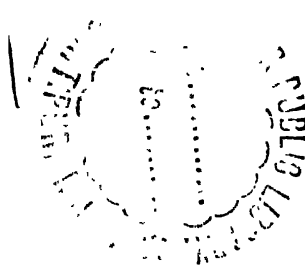
Altámsh, the slave; those of Álláudeen, the first Mahomedan subjugator of all India; the Chinese expedition of Mahomed Toglek; the terrible invasion of India by Timour, which left an indelible mark on the country; its conquest by Báber; the wars of Humáyun and Shere Sháh; those of Akbar; the rebellion of Sháh Jehán; that of Khán Jehán Lodi; and the civil wars caused by the sons of Sháh Jehán, which were terminated by Aurungzebe's ascension to the throne. After these will come for notice the wars of Aurungzebe with the Rájpoots and the Mahrattás, the subsequent Mahrattá wars, the war of Báhádur Sháh with the Sikhs, the invasion of Nádir Sháh, and the several invasions of Áhmed Sháh Dooráni which ended with his final triumph at Pániput.

The battle of Pániput was fought in 1761, four years after which began the recognised sovereignty of the English in India. We wish we could say that the English period has been altogether a quiet and peaceful one. It has unfortunately not been, and in fact could not be so, since the empire of the English is based on conquest, just as much at that of the Mahomedans was. Unlike the Mahomedan period, however, the English era has been singularly free from internal disturbances, excepting such as were unavoidable to the tenure upon which it is based; and now that the masters of the country have attained the *ne plus ultra* of their aspirations in it, the whole of it is at peace from one extremity to another quite as much as Great Britain and Ireland. The wars they have fought will of course have to be referred to. They commenced with their struggles with the French for a footing in the land, which were soon followed by the wars for the acquisition of Bengal and Behár. Then succeeded the wars with Hyder Áli and Tippoo, which may be

regarded as the sequel of the struggles with the French ; then the first Mahrattá war ; then the war with Nepál ; then the great Mahrattá and Pindári war ; and then the Burmese war. Next followed the capture of Bhurtpore and the subjugation of the Játs ; after which there was a long era of rest, that was abruptly concluded by the fear the English entertained of the Russians, which provoked the Afghán war, which in a manner obliged them to undertake in succession the conquest of Scinde, the Gwálíor war, and the Punjáb war. The last of their great wars in India up to this time¹ has been the Sepoy war of 1857-58.

Of most of these wars detailed accounts exist, but in such voluminous form as is repellent to a large number of readers. Our only endeavour will be to produce a book that will give the general reader such a cursory sketch of them as he will care to read and remember. The wars with China and Persia will not be referred to, as they were, in point of fact, not Indian but imperial wars.

¹ This work was originally published in 1879.



CHAPTER II.

THE INVASION OF SEMIRAMIS.

APPROXIMATE DATE B.C. 2000.

THE first celebrated invader of India was Senniramis, the wife of Ninus, who succeeded him on the Assyrian throne, some two or three hundred years after the Flood. The account of this invasion is given by Diodorus Siculus after Ctesias, whom the fathers reject as an unscrupulous authority because his narrations are not altogether reconcilable with the Jewish Scriptures. There is no doubt, however, that there was such a queen as Semiramis—or Samáraymat, as she is named in the Assyrian inscriptions—and that she did signalise herself by many wonderful achievements, of which not the least was the erection of Babylon; and *prima facie* there is nothing against Ctesias's account of the Indian war, which, Diodorus says, was extracted from the archives of Babylon, and the general truth of which is not unsupported by the mythic annals of India.

The account of Ctesias is that the queen of Assyria, having added Libya and Ethiopia to her dominions, retired for rest to Bactria, but soon became so impatient of a quiet life that she resolved to proceed thence to India, which even in that age had acquired a name for fertility and riches. The king of the Indians, Stabrobates, was, however, on all hands said to be a very powerful sove-

reign, and the undertaking contemplated was also difficult for other reasons. Preparations for it were therefore made by Semiramis on the grandest scale. The bravest and most expert soldiers in her empire were selected for the enterprise; and the army thus formed was strongly armed and accoutred. She also engaged shipwrights from all maritime places to build for her a number of vessels to be transported in pieces by land and made use of in crossing the Indus; and, to deceive the elephant corps of the Indian king, in which his chief superiority was supposed to rest, she had counterfeit elephants constructed of wood, which were covered with the hides of black oxen. Her elephants and vessels being ready in two years she assembled her army in the third, and counted three millions of foot-soldiers, two hundred thousand horsemen, one hundred thousand chariots, and one hundred thousand men on camels. Her vessels of transport were two thousand in number, and were carried by camels; as also were her mock-elephants, to the sight of which the horsemen familiarised their horses, that they might not take fright on seeing real elephants in the war.

Stabrobates, undaunted by these preparations, made his own for resistance with equal vigour, and succeeded in organising a superior army. His foot-soldiers exceeded three millions, and the other arms were proportionately strong. He especially added largely to the elephant corps, and armed it so as to render it invincible; and, for purposes of transport, he built four thousand boats of canes and bamboos.

Thus prepared the Indian king sent ambassadors to Semiramis on her march to reproach her for seeking a causeless war; and, in a private note to her, he upbraided her for her infamous life, and threatened to crucify her if

she fell into his hands. The only answer Semiramis gave was that she hoped that they would ere long be better acquainted with each other; and, hurrying her advance, she came shortly after to the banks of the Indus, but was surprised to find the enemy's fleet already arranged and drawn up in order before her. Nothing daunted she launched the vessels she had prepared, manned them with the boldest of her soldiers, and commenced the fight, ordering it so that those on shore might be able to aid and assist those fighting on the river. The contest was fierce and obstinate, but terminated in favour of the Assyrians, who sunk one thousand of the Indian vessels and took many prisoners.

But the king of India was a strategist. He had accepted the defeat designedly, that the enemy might get elated and less wary with success; and, affecting to retire before it, he drew the entire army of the Assyrians across the river. Semiramis, easily taken in, ordered a bridge of boats to be stretched across the stream, and went over with all her forces, leaving only sixty thousand men behind to defend the bridge; and she proceeded joyously, pursuing the Indians and desolating the country for many leagues. Her mock-elephants did her especial service, for they actually succeeded in intimidating several detachments of the Indian army, till the deceit was discovered by deserters. Even then Stabrobates found the greatest difficulty in rallying his forces; but he eventually succeeded in doing so, and then charged the Assyrians with such vigour that they were obliged to give way. The attack of his elephant corps was now irresistible, while the mock-elephants of Semiramis proved useless and cumbersome. The sovereigns on both sides fought hand to hand, and Semiramis was wounded with an arrow

CHAPTER III.

THE EXPEDITION OF BACCHUS, SESOSTRIS, OR PARUSHAN.

APPROXIMATE DATE B.C. 1800.

NONNUS, a native of Panopolis, in Egypt, composed in the fifth century after Christ, a poem called the *Dionysiaca*, which gives an account of the expedition of Dionysius, or Bacchus, into India. Some authors consider Osiris to have been the original Bacchus; others concede that honour to Sesostris; others again to Shishak: while not a few agree in thinking that there was actually but one invasion of India from Egypt, the name of the invader being differently given by different writers as Dionysius, Bacchus, Shishak, and Sesostris.

Nonnus says that the expedition of Bacchus was undertaken at the desire of Jupiter, who was angry with Deriades, the king of India, for his haughtiness. The invading army was assembled by Pyrrichus, and was commanded by Actæon, Hymenæus, Erectheus, Aristæus, Ogyrus, and Priapus. A long catalogue of nations and towns which contributed to swell its ranks is given by the poet. Briefly, the races were: the Cabiri, Corybantes, Telchinis, Cyclops, Pans, Satyrs, Hyades, Centaurs, Nymphs, and Bassarides. Armed with a thyrsus and a horn Bacchus led these on, being accompanied, not only by the heroes named, but also by Apollo, to give lessons in poetry and music to the Indians, Triptolemus, to teach

them the arts of husbandry, Maro, to instruct them in planting the vine, and the Muses, to teach them the rest of the sciences and arts. The invaders entered India by the road of Persia, but were not entirely unopposed on the frontier. An immense multitude, armed with such weapons as they could lay hands on, flocked from all the neighbouring districts to repel them ;* but the Bassarides, or Bacchæ, fell furiously on these, and Bacchus seconded their efforts by turning a river that was running blood into wine, of which the Indians drank unwittingly, and, becoming mad drunk, were easily conquered.

At this stage the account of the war is relieved by the story of Bacchus's passion for an Indian nymph named Nicæa, as beautiful as Venus and as chaste as Diana. Bacchus's love being rejected by her with disdain, he followed her wherever she went ; upon which she tried to run away, and, coming up to the river of wine in an exhausted state, drank deeply of it and became insensible, which gave Bacchus the opportunity to complete her ruin.

The trick of the river of wine being discovered, Orontes, the son-in-law of Deriades, challenged Bacchus to a single combat, which Bacchus avoided. A general engagement was then commenced, and Orontes attempted to attack Bacchus, but was unable to wound him ; while Bacchus with his thyrsus rent the corslet of Orontes, but magnanimously spared his life. Orontes, unable to endure the indignity, destroyed himself ; and, the best warrior of the Indian army being thus lost, a second victory was obtained by Bacchus, after which Blemys, an Indian who had joined him, was placed on the throne.

The next encounter was a friendly one, with one Staphylus, apparently one of the frontier princes, who, with his wife Methé, and his son Botrys, learned to appreciate

the grape so well that he died from the effects of it, whereupon Bacchus undertook to console his widow, and Methé became his constant companion. After this followed a fierce encounter with Lycurgus, the king of Arabia, who gave Bacchus a signal defeat; but Neptune and Jupiter coming to his rescue, the former struck Arabia with his trident and laid it under water, while the latter made Lycurgus blind.

Up to this time there had been no engagement with Deriades himself. One of his generals, Thureus, a fierce warrior, now met Bacchus on the banks of the Hydaspes, and meditated an attack on him. But a deserter informed Bacchus of the plan, and he, feigning flight, drew the Indians after him, and then defeated and routed them, driving many of them into the river, where the contest was continued in the water till all except Thureus were drowned. Bacchus then crossed the river, and meeting with opposition set fire to it. This angered Oceanus; but the Hydaspes itself implored clemency, upon which the flames were extinguished.

The preparations for the battle with Deriades were now completed. Bacchus received a shield made by Vulcan on which were displayed the figures of the sun, moon, and stars; of Thebes, Amphion, and Ganymedes; of Damasenus engaging and slaying a dragon; and of Rhea holding a stone to Saturn. His opponents were at the same time craftily encouraged by Pallas to venture out; and they advanced vigorously, bearing various arms. In the battle which followed Dexiochus and Corymbasus, two Indian chiefs, particularly distinguished themselves, the latter standing at his post even after he was killed! But the advance of the Cyclops soon reduced the troops of Deriades to straits, many fell back

before them, and Deriades himself was surrounded; when Juno inspired him with courage, upon which Deriades and Bacchus engaged in single conflict, till they were parted by night. Juno now deceived Jupiter with the girdle of Venus, and lulled him asleep; and Deriades, being assisted by Mars, soon put Bacchus and his host to flight, upon which Bacchus became demented.

Jupiter was filled with wrath when he awoke, and compelled Juno to cure Bacchus with her milk; after which the war was renewed, Bacchus charging the elephant corps of the Indian army at the head of the wild beasts that accompanied him. He himself also assumed a great variety of forms to engage Deriades, and finally succeeded in entangling him in a mess of vine-plants, which forced him to entreat for liberation, and to conclude a truce.

Numerous prodigies appeared at the termination of the truce, but they deterred neither party from continuing the war, which now took a naval form; and the ships of Bacchus and Deriades being both ready, a vigorous engagement was begun. The Indians were early surrounded, but still fought with obstinate valour, till Boreas sent a storm against them and Jupiter sent rain, when the Indians being subdued their fleet was burnt. Deriades now attempted to fly, but was deceitfully persuaded by Pallas to continue the fight, which enabled Bacchus to come up to him and slay him; after which Bacchus returned to his native country.

The account given of Sesostris by Diodorus Siculus does not very materially differ from the above, though no details to an equal extent are furnished. His first expedition, it is there related was in command of an army sent out by his father to conquer Arabia, in which he

was entirely successful. He was next sent to conquer Libya, which was likewise brought under subjection. These achievements excited in him the ambition to conquer the world; and, on coming to the throne, he raised for that purpose a large army of six hundred thousand foot-soldiers, twenty-four thousand horsemen, and twenty-seven thousand chariots of war. The chosen companions of his infancy were the generals who commanded this army; and he fitted out a fleet from the Red Sea to co-operate with it. The latter being first sent out succeeded in conquering all the maritime nations to the borders of India. The army then took its course through Phœnicia, Syria, Assyria, and Media, all of which were reduced; after which it entered India through Persia, and subduing the whole of it, passed down the Ganges to its mouth, where the fleet was waiting for it, and where triumphant pillars were erected. Nine years were spent in the expedition, after the successful termination of which Sesostris proceeded westward into Europe, where he subjugated Thrace. We have no information of the kings he encountered in India. In another account Shishak, or Sesonchosis, is said to have conquered a large part of India, and to have left one of his most intimate friends, Spartembas, on the throne, whose descendants continued to occupy it till the invasion of the country by Hercules. The story, whichever version of it be accepted, is not improbable; there is no doubt that the Egyptian Empire was at one time contiguous to India. The approximate date of the expedition has been set down at the head of this chapter as B.C. 1800, but the era of Sesostris is more commonly fixed at somewhere between B.C. 1500 and 1300, and that of Shishak at between 1000 and 900.

We now turn to the Indian accounts available to us. Col. Wilford was of opinion that the Dionysiacs of Nonnus only related the story of the Mahábhárut, while Sir William Jones held that the parallel to it was to be found in the Rámáyana. In point of fact, however, we find no actual counterpart of the story in either of the poems referred to, beyond a possible affinity of names between Deriades and Duryodhon, as regards the Mahábhárut, and such resemblance as may be said to subsist between the circumstances of Bacchus having fought with an army of satyrs and Ráma with an army of monkeys, as regards the Rámáyana. The more probable theory, therefore, is that which has been generally accepted, that the expedition of Bacchus, Sesostris, or Shishak has reference to a distinct war from that of either the Rámáyana or the Mahábhárut, the hero of it being the elder Ráma, or Parusrám, so named from the *Parusa*, or battle-axe, with which he fought. It will be remembered that the Egyptian name of Sesostris was Rameses the Great.

Parusrám, according to the Hindu story, was an incarnation of the Deity, one of whose names is Bagis, which may be identified with Bacchus. He was the son of Jamadagni, an anchorite, who, quarrelling with Gautama, was beset by a confederation of princes both of India and Cushwadwipa (Persia and Arabia), and was murdered. Parusrám, then a boy, had already found favour with Mahádeva, and, armed with his invincible energy, devoted himself to the extermination of the Kshetriyas, or the royal race, all over India. In vain they resisted him singly or together; all arms were useless against his battle-axe; and the slaughter he made was so great that even the *chásás*, or agriculturists, fled from the plains

and retreated to the mountains. The *Sántiparba* of the Mahábhárut says that "he turned the earth into a mass of ensanguined mud." Eastwards he proceeded to the extremest limit of Assam, where with one blow of his axe he made the cleft in the mountains—still called *Prabhu Kuthár* by the Assamese—by which the Brahmapootra enters India. To the west he went beyond the Hindu Koosh, to the country of the Cannibals, where he fought with their ruler Kartávirya, and, darting huge serpents at him, infolded him in an inextricable maze till he was destroyed. The names given by Nonnus are not reconcilable with those of the Hindu legend, but some resemblance between the stories may be traced. The Egyptians who accompanied Bacchus, Sesostris, or Shishak to India—a great portion of whom must have settled in it under Spartembas—were perhaps also Bráhmans, like those already settled in the Punjáb, whose cause was fought for by Parusrám. •

CHAPTER IV.

RÁMA'S WAR WITH RÁVANA.

. APPROXIMATE DATE B.C. 1700.

THE first war between Bráhmaism and Buddhism of which we have any account was fought by Ráma, the son of Dasarath, king of Ayodhyá, or Oude, with Rávana, king of Lanká, or Ceylon. The story has been rendered immortal by the poem of Válmik, which is prized by the Hindu alike for its historical and religious associations. The accounts of Ráma's birth, boyhood, and marriage do not require to be here noticed ; but it may be mentioned at the outset that he, like Parusrám, was an incarnation of the Deity. The story of his adventures commences from the date of his banishment, which was procured by the intrigues of his step-mother Kaikeyi. His father having become very old, Ráma was selected by the people for the office of heir-apparent and coadjutor of the king ; but his installation to the office was opposed by Kaikeyi, who besought her husband to instal her own son Bharat, in preference, and to send Ráma into exile. The old king was weak and silly enough to comply ; whereupon Ráma, with his wife Sitá, and a step-brother, Lakshmana, proceeded as ascetics to the Dandaka forest, to fulfil the parental command. The sentence was for fourteen years ; but, Dasarath dying almost immediately after Ráma's departure, Ráma was summoned

to occupy the throne by Bharat himself, which, however, he refused to do, lest his filial obedience should be impugned.

While in the wilderness Ráma killed several Rákshases, or demons (by whom Buddhists apparently are meant), who persecuted the sages, or Bráhmans, dwelling in the forests for their worship of the gods. Among the Rákshases thus encountered were two brothers of Rávana and one of his sisters. The latter offered love to Ráma, and, on being told that he was already married, rushed upon Sitá in her jealousy, to do hurt to her; whereupon Lakshmana thoughtlessly cut off her ears and nose, and her brothers attempting to avenge her were killed. This brought out Rávana to the spot; but he did not come either to fight for glory or to avenge his relatives. He came only to gratify his lust for Sitá, for whose hand he had before unsuccessfully competed, and who was now represented to him as being as beautiful as Lakshmi seated on her lotos. An accomplice of his assuming the form of a golden stag with silver spots lured out Ráma from the hermitage, and Lakshmana being shortly after sent after Ráma by his devoted wife to assist him against fancied danger, Rávana came into the hut, declared his passion, and, being indignantly answered, carried off Sitá in his chariot through the air. This being observed by Jatáya, the king of the vultures, an attempt was made to rescue Sitá, but proved unsuccessful, Jatáya being mortally wounded in the conflict and surviving only long enough to give the necessary directions to Ráma for the search of his wife.

Now comes the story of the war. In the middle of the southern ocean was the wonderful island of Lanká, which owned Rávana for its lord, and thither Sitá was supposed

to have been carried. Her captor was a great warrior, and had a large army of Rákshases under his command. "If you desire to conquer him," said Kabandha, the Gandharva, to Ráma, "you must form a friendly alliance with Sugriva, one of the most powerful of the monkey-chiefs, who will first require your assistance against his brother Bali, and then assist you in return." The advice of Kabandha was followed; the monkey-chief was assisted in his quarrel with his brother for the possession of the monkey-throne, and, being raised to it, espoused heart and soul the cause of his ally. Not only all the monkeys in Southern India, but all the bears in it also, that is, all the aboriginal races of the country of every description—monkeys standing for foresters, and bears for mountaineers—came forward to assist Ráma. The monkeys were of all species—white, black, blue, green, red, and yellow, and were counted by millions, and marshalled under their respective leaders, of whom the most important were: Sugriva, Angada, Hanumán, Nila, Rambha, Sárambha, Vánara, Arundha, Darvindha, and Nalá. The bears were forty crores in number, and were led by Jámavat, their king.

The Ulysses of the monkey tribe was Hanumán, who was deputed southwards to discover the whereabouts of Sitá. He took charge of Ráma's marriage-ring, and leapt over the channel between India and Ceylon. The capital of the enemy he found well-defended, within seven ranges of walls—namely, of iron, stone, brass, lead, copper, silver, and gold—all guarded by Rákshases of great might. But he eluded them all by assuming the form of a cat, and, after many difficulties and a prolonged search, found Sitá safely secured in the Asoka grove, surrounded by Rákshasa ladies set about her to induce

her to return the love of her captor. Rávana himself came in shortly after to press his suit, and Hanumán was thus made an eye-witness of the fidelity of Sitá, who indignantly rejected the overtures of the Buddha king. If Rávana had vanquished Ráma in battle, Sitá would, by the laws of war, have been compelled to become his wife; but, as he had carried her off by stealth only, he had no acknowledged right over her, and was therefore obliged to await her consent to the gratification of his passion. A private interview with Sitá was now managed by Hanumán, who presented his credentials, the marriage-ring, and proposed to carry her off on his broad shoulders. But to this the Kshetriya lady would not agree, because she would not voluntarily touch the body of any male person except Ráma; and Hanumán was therefore compelled to go back, Sitá giving him in exchange for the ring the only jewel she had on her person, a golden chaplet which held her hair, as her token to Ráma, with ardent entreaties that he would come and deliver her at once from the insults and solicitations to which she was obliged to submit, and the impressive notice that, if he did not rescue her within two months, she would destroy herself. Before retiring from the island, however, the monkey-chief thought it befitting his character to commit a deal of mischief in the enemy's capital, and he accordingly destroyed eighty thousand soldiers, seven chiefs, five commanders of inferior note, and a son of Rávana; besides which, he set fire to several buildings by lashing about his tail, which the Rákshases had foolishly ignited.

On the return of Hanumán, Ráma advanced towards Lanká to invade it. His army, though composed only of monkeys and bears, was innumerable, and covered 100,000

miles of land ; and this vast body proceeded towards the sea as one man, rejoicing in their strength. The earth trembled at the loudness of their shouts and the lashing of their tails ; mountains and wildernesses were passed over with the swiftness of the wind : but consternation and astonishment were on every face when, arrived on the sea-shore, they saw the waves bursting on the beach. How was the sea now to be crossed ? Varuna, the god of waters, was invoked for assistance, and suggested the construction of a bridge by the monkey-chief Nala, a son of Vishwakarmá, the great architect of heaven. No difficulty was experienced in finding materials for the work, for the monkeys, going out in all directions, brought together a large stock of trees, mountains, and loose stones, and Nala made these float by the simple process of engraving Ráma's name on each, Ráma having previously, by the strength of his arrows, forced the ocean-god to agree to support a bridge.

The bridge thus constructed was called Shetbandha, and was one hundred *yojanas* long and ten *yojana* broad. The whole army passed over it with ease, and then encamped near the Subala mountains, tidings of their entry into the island being communicated through Hanumán to Sitá in the Asoka grove. Intermediately, Ráma acquired a valuable coadjutor in Vibishana, one of the brothers of Rávana, who, being a worshipper of Vishnu, was not a Buddhist, and who was besides inimical to the island-king as looking askance on his throne. He excited the ire of Rávana by proposing the restoration of Sitá, upon which he was indignantly expelled from Lanká, and at once came over to Ráma, by whom he was proclaimed king in place of Rávana.

Many evil omens were also seen at Lanká at the same

time that the invading army entered it. The heavens exhibited themselves in flames, lightnings flashed incessantly, heavy thunder was heard in every direction, showers of blood and flesh dropped from the clouds, asses were brought forth by cows and cats by mice, the image of Bhaváni wore a constant and horrible smile, and crows, kites, and vultures hovered around as if expecting to be fed. But these signs did not affect the nerves of Rávana. He knew that he had a large and disciplined army, and that his generals were all of tried worth, the best among them being his own son Megnádh, otherwise called Indrajit, or the conqueror of Indra. He had great confidence also in Prahasta, his commander-in-chief; his brother Kumbhakarna had the reputation of invincibility; and the chiefs of lesser name, like Kálnema, were innumerable. The surrender of Sitá, when formally asked for, was, for these reasons, rejected with scorn. The demon-army then marched out of the city, striking up their kettle-drums and instruments of war. They were mounted at hap-hazard on buffaloes, camels, lions, elephants, asses, hogs, and wolves; and were armed with swords, tridents, clubs, bows, arrows, maces, and spears. The arms of their opponents were trees torn up by the roots, huge rocks, and their own nails and teeth, which had been sharpened as swords for the fight.

The first engagement was of words, both the monkeys and the Rákshases abusing each other heartily; and this is the way the Hindus commence their contests up to the present hour. The monkeys then began an earnest attack with trees and stones, the Rákshases returning the compliment with their arrows. Rávana mounted the roof of his palace to witness the engagement; but eleven arrows were shot at him by Ráma, ten of which dis-

crowned his ten heads, while the eleventh cut down his royal umbrella, whereupon Rávana was compelled to retire from shame, amid the jeers and remonstrances of his own wife, Mandádori. The slaughter on the field was so great that a river flowed from the blood that was shed, and a hill was formed of limbs and bones. After long fighting the monkeys began to give way, and eventually ran off; but they were soon rallied and brought back by the valiant Sugriva, who put even Indrajit to flight, till the latter came back in a charmed chariot which made him invisible, and was thus enabled to catch both Ráma and Lakshmana in a noose of serpents which had been given to him by Bruhmá. Ráma now summoned Garuṇa, the deadly foe of serpents, to his aid, and at his sight the noose fell off and the serpents fled, whereby the brother-chiefs recovered their liberty.

The field was yet indecisive when Rávana entered it in person. Andromache-like Mandádori endeavoured to dissuade him from doing so, but he refused to listen to her. A thousand horses were harnessed to his car; his ten heads appeared as ten mountains; his teeth were as anvils; and his twenty hands had twenty different descriptions of weapons to fight with. He came out with a vast army in his rear, and there was great battle on whichever side he pressed. There were also many single combats, but they were generally very indecisive. That between Ráma and Rávana ended by a crescent-shaped arrow of the former cutting off again the ten crowns from the latter's heads, upon which Rávana was once more obliged to retire.

All the hopes of Rávana were now centred in his invincible brother Kumbhakarna, who slept six months at a time, and then awoke only for a day when nothing

could withstand his power. He was awakened with difficulty, and then gave expression to fearful dreams of imminent danger which had disturbed his sleep. He nevertheless fought with a stout heart; but all his prodigious valour was of no avail. He had struck terror among the monkeys, and captured their chief Sugriva; but at this moment Ráma succeeded in cutting off his head, which raised a wail in the palaces of Lanká.

Indrajit, the valiant son of Rávana, again came forward in his magic car to retrieve the ill-fortune of the day, and, invisible himself, he created great havoc in the monkey ranks. But the physician Sushena revived all the wounded by the juice of certain herbs fresh-gathered from the summit of a mountain called Gandhamadana, which was brought over bodily to the battle-field by Hanuman, on his failing to discover the herbs which were wanted. The case was thus bitterly summed up by Rávana and his counsellors: "All the Rákshases are slain and never revive, but the monkeys that are slain rise up again to renew the fight." The fact is, all the inhabitants of the Dandaka forest, which extended from near Alláhábád to Cape Comorin, were in arms against the little island of Ceylon. The disparity in numbers was too great to be made up by valour: they closed the gates of Lanká in despair!

Then Ráma commanded the monkey-chiefs to force into Lanká and set fire to it, which brought out two nephews of Rávana, and his son Indrajit, to renew the fight. They came forth, however, only to die; and, Rávana appearing next in person to avenge them, was so sorely assailed by Ráma that he was compelled to fall back. He then besought Sukra, the preceptor of the Rákshases, to help him with his advice; and Sukra taught him cer-

tain *mantras* which, with a specified sacrifice, were to enable him to obtain weapons of fire that would make him invincible. But the spies of Ráma being on the alert, the monkeys, headed by Angada and Hanumán, broke open the palace-door and disturbed the rite, forcing Rávana to fly to the rescue of Mandádori who was laid hold of; and so no aid came out of Sukra's charm.

But Rávana was unsubdued. With or without fire-arms he was determined to die game; and he came out to the field and renewed his conflict with Ráma, and for a long time fought on equal terms, victory inclining sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. The contest was maintained without intermission for seven days and nights. The king of the demons bore a charmed life, for no sooner was one of his heads lopped off than another arose to replace it; till Ráma got hold of a sacred arrow which Bruhmá had made in times past from the spirit of all the gods, and which Ráma had received as a present from Agastya; and this pierced Rávana to the heart, going out of his back, whereby the bulwark of Buddhism was prostrated.

There was unusual jubilee at the triumph of Ráma, for the gods showered *parijáta* flowers on him from heaven, the Gandharvas struck up their musical instruments, and the Apsarás danced. They all praised the son of Dasarath for having delivered them from the oppressions of the Buddha king, and Ráma stood on the plain, the observed of all observers, flushed with glory and renown.

The restoration of Sitá to her lord, and his triumphant return to Oude, do not require any notice here. The age of the war has been approximately laid down at between B.C. 1800 and 1700. Apart from its fabulous decorations it has every right to be regarded as a real and historical event.

CHAPTER V.

THE SCYTHIC INVASIONS.

DATES—VARIOUS.

WE now come to the Scythic invasions; but the information available in regard to them is too vague to be of any great use to us. A fondness for establishing a new hypothesis has led several writers to exalt the importance of these inroads in very remote times; but it does not appear that they were ever in reality anything better than the Mahrattá raids of more recent eras, each a passing whirlwind of great fury that left no trace but of the devastations it made. The expeditions, however, were very frequent, and were probably so even before the date of the Rámáyana. Wilford, in the *Asiatic Researches*, refers to one invasion in B.C. 2000, when the king, Báhu, was defeated by the Sákás, till his son Ságara repelled them with his *agni-astram*, or firearms. The best known of the invaders was Oghuz Khán, an ancestor of Chingez, whose era has been supposed to be somewhere between B.C. 1800 and 1600, though some make it yet more ancient, and who is said to have first conquered Irák or Babylon, Azerbiján, and Armenia, and then turned his arms towards India, of which all the northern provinces—namely, Kabool, Ghazni, and Cashmere—were subdued. The first two provinces were easily conquered; but at Cashmere he was obstinately opposed by a king named Jagma (assumed by those who give Oghuz Khán an older era than between B.C. 1800

and 1600, to be the same as Jamadagni, the father of Parusrám), who fortified and defended all the mountain-passes leading to the country, and thus retarded the progress of the enemy for a whole year. At the expiration of that period, however, Oghuz Khán succeeded in defeating his opponent, and pursued his army with considerable slaughter. A great part of the inhabitants of Cashmere were also killed, Jagma himself being of the number, after which Oghuz Khán retired to his own dominions.

The path being thus opened, the Scythians, whose sole object was plunder, repeated their inroads as often as they chose, devastating all the country of the Punjáb; nor is it impossible that they occasionally penetrated into the more southern and south-eastern provinces, which lay open to them and promised a rich booty. When Cyaxares, the Median king, defeated the Scythians under Madyes, a great portion of them dispersed precipitately and endeavoured to secure settlements in the neighbouring regions, and some of these are supposed to have penetrated into the western and central districts of India. The descendants of Kiun and Áy, or the Sun and Moon, the sons of Oghuz Khán, also succeeded in entering the country in the same direction, on the empire of the Moguls in Tartary being subverted by the Tártárs; and, at a later date, the serpent, or Takshak, race forced their way still further inwards, as is implied by the word *Nága*, or serpent, occurring so frequently in the annals of Central India. It is believed that the Takshaks penetrated even into the Deccan, establishing their first settlement in it on the site still called Nágapore. But all this is surmise merely: we have no authentic accounts of their wars, or of the era in which they were waged.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ADVENTURES OF HERCULES, OR BALARÁM AND KRISHNA.

APPROXIMATE DATE B.C. 1500.

THE information regarding 'Hercules is also very indefinite. Diodorus says that Hercules was born among the Indians, who, like the Greeks, armed him with a club and dressed him in a lion's hide. The learned are, however, not well agreed as to the particular Indian warrior who is to be identified with the hero of Thebes. Some consider Hercules and Balarám, or Ráma the third, to be the same, and the general representations of both very much agree, Balarám being usually depicted with a club in one hand and a lion's skin thrown round the loins. The identity of names is greater with Krishna, or Hari, the brother of Balarám; and, generally, the achievements of both Balarám and Krishna were akin to those of the Grecian warrior, partaking less of the character of great wars than of personal adventures undertaken against monsters, tyrants, and wild beasts. Jarásandhá, the ruler of Magadha, has also been put forward by some as the original Hercules; and others again have held Viswadhanwa in that light. With the last, however, the analogy holds good only in this, that both he and Hercules were afflicted by a loathsome and excruciating disease of which they died; while with the third the accordance is, if possible, still less, since Jarásandhá led

a stationary life, as a great king with a fixed abode, while Hercules, like Balarám and Krishna, was constantly roaming about in search of adventures. We may regard Balarám and Krishna, therefore, as jointly representing Hercules in India, their lives and actions being scarcely separable. As the Mahábhárut says : " Wherever Krishna is there will be the hero Balarám, in strength equal to ten thousand elephants, resembling the summit of Kailása, wearing a garland of wild flowers, and carrying a plough." The greatest achievements of Krishna were those interlaced with the history of the Pándavas, to which we shall presently refer. Apart from them the two brothers performed many deeds of valour in their wanderings, which may be here briefly noticed.

Ugrasena, king of Mathoorá, having been deposed by his son Kangsa, the latter assumed the character of a merciless tyrant, and was both hated and feared. His father was a worshipper of Vishnu, while he himself paid homage to Siva, so that the struggle between them was virtually one of religions. The daughter of Ugrasena—according to some authorities his niece—was named Devaki, and was married to Vasudeva. Shortly after her marriage a voice came from heaven to Kangsa that a son of Devaki would slay him. This decided his conduct towards the Jádavas, or the descendants of Jadu, whom he followed with remorseless animosity, making several attempts to destroy them. Balarám, the first son of Devaki, was rescued by being brought up as the child of Rohini, another wife of Vasudeva. Krishna, the second son, was saved by Vasudeva flying with him across the Jumná and placing him under the care of Nanda, a cowherd, who, with his wife Yasodá, brought him up as their own.

The pranks of the youthful prodigies need not be remembered. In one of them Krishna is described as obtaining a great victory on the banks of the Jumná over Káliya Nága, or the black serpent, which probably refers to one of the earliest wars of the Hindus with the Scythians. The serpent was obstructing the passage of the river which Krishna had to go by. He therefore attacked him boldly, and, struggling hard with him, tore out his thousand heads and trampled him to death. Balarám was present by his side, but did not take part in the conflict. Shortly after, when Kangsa performed a sacrifice to Siva, both Balarám and Krishna went to Mathoorá, to witness the games, and Krishna having bent or broken the bow of Siva, which no one could lift up, was watched with suspicion, whereupon the two brothers, quarrelling with the warders, fell upon them, and then made good their retreat, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Kangsa to capture them. They made their appearance again in a wrestling-match before the king, and, again giving offence, were ordered to be seized, upon which they slew all the wrestlers, Krishna signalling himself further by attacking and slaying Kangsa himself, after which old Ugrasena, released from confinement, was replaced on the throne.

Kangsa left two widows, both daughters of Jarásandhá, and that large-armed warrior, collecting an enormous army,* determined to revenge the death of his son-in-law. He held in alliance akin to subjection several princes only second to himself in fame, such as, Sisupála, king of Chedi, Bhagadatta, king of Kámroop, the kings of Banga and Pandra, and many others; and all these were called together to give Krishna battle. He was also assisted by Káliá-Javana, the king of Ghazni, whom Wilford identifies

with Deucalion, or Deo-Kálá-Javana, who, joined by the Sákás and other barbarians of the north, entered India. Mathoorá was besieged eighteen times by Jarásandhá, the fight on the last occasion being continued for three days, after which Krishna was obliged to fly, and took refuge with his family and followers in Dwárká, a strong place on the sea-coast, in Guzerát. This appears to have been the only great reverse that Krishna ever met with. Balarám was the first to rally and return to Brindábun; and after him Krishna also came back.

The greatest war of Krishna was that with Kálá-Javana, who fought fifteen bloody battles with him, and nearly overcame and subdued him, till he was obliged to have recourse to artifice and deceit. Returning from Dwárká, Krishna presented himself before Kálá-Javana alone, upon which the barbarian, rising in great rage, attempted to capture him. Krishna fled and Kálá-Javana pursued him, till they came to a cave where slept a giant named Muchucanda, a son of Mándhátá, who had aided the gods in defeating the Daityas. The gods out of gratitude had directed Muchucanda to ask a boon, and the fatigued warrior, having wished for a long sleep, had obtained it, with this warrant of security that whoever awakened him would be destroyed by the fire of his eye. Krishna, knowing the secret, boldly entered the cave and took his stand by the giant's head; when Kálá-Javana came in pursuing him, and seeing a man asleep struck him to awaken him. Muchucanda opening his eyes a flame darted from it and reduced Kálá-Javana to ashes, after which Krishna, gathering his forces, fell upon the Javanas and put them to the sword.

Another ally of Jarásandhá was Gonerdha, the king of Cashmere. He and his army were attacked by Balarám

on the banks of the Jumná, and entirely defeated and cut up, Gonerdha himself being among the slain. His son, Dámoodara, tried to avenge his death, but was also killed. Notwithstanding these successes, however, Krishna and Balarám were not able of themselves, either separately or together, to subdue their principal opponent, Jarásandhá, against whom they were obliged to enlist the assistance of the Pándavas. These latter were anxious to celebrate the Rájsuya sacrifice, but were opposed in their wish by Jarásandhá, who regarded himself as the lord-paramount of India. Krishna took advantage of the disagreement, and offered to make common cause with the Pándavas against the king of Magadha, and, this being agreed to, Jarásandhá was surprised in his capital, Báliputra or Pátáli-putra, while resting after the conquest of the Práchi, and, being simultaneously attacked by all his enemies, was defeated. Some accounts say that he was killed in single combat by Bheem; others that he was split asunder by Balarám and Krishna.

Krishna and Balarám also fought with Bánasur, or Rájáh Bán, who ruled over Anga, the country bordering on the Ganges to the east of Behár, and the remains of whose place of residence are shown to this day near Purneáh. The war arose from the rape of Oosha, the daughter of Bánasur, by Oniroodha, the grandson of Krishna, whom the angry father captured and imprisoned. Krishna and Balarám came to rescue him, and three of Bánasur's cities were taken by Balarám and destroyed; but the quarrel was eventually settled amicably, by the marriage of Oniroodha with Oosha.

Another great achievement of Krishna was the conquest of Sankhásoora, a sea-monster. The wife of Kasya, the spiritual guide of Krishna, complained to him that the

ocean had swallowed up her children near the plain of Prabhása, or the western coast of Guzerát, and supplicated him to recover them. Krishna hastened to the shore, and was there informed by the sea-god that Sankhásoora, or Panchajanya, had carried away the children. The palace of this monster was a shell in the ocean—perhaps a poetical conceit for a little island—and his subjects were cannibals or demons, who roamed by night and plundered the flat country, from which they carried off men, women, and children. The inference is that they were pirates, who lived on the sea-shore and made frequent depredations inland for recruits and slaves. Krishna with an army of deities attacked and defeated them. He then pursued their chief through the sea, and after a prolonged conflict, in which the waters were violently agitated and the land overflowed, he drew out the monster from his shell, and slew him, carrying off the shell as a memorial of his victory, and using it ever after in battle as a trumpet. Not yet finding the children of Kasya, the victor went straight down to Yampuri, or hell, where the sound of the conch alarmed Yama, who, making his prostration, at once gave up the children sought for, upon which they were restored by Krishna to their mother.

Among the other acts and adventures of the brother-heroes were : a great battle fought by Krishna with the bear Jámavat, whose daughter, Jámavati, he took to wife ; another battle fought with the king of horses dwelling in the woods of the Jumná ; the destruction of a Dánava bearing the form of a bull ; the striking of a bleak rock with Aaron's wand, by Balarám, in the forest of Virát, to produce water to assuage the thirst of Koonti ; the conquest of Naraka, an Asoor, and the demolition of his impregnable fortress, Prágjyotisha,

which were achieved jointly ; the destruction, in the same manner, of Sunaman, the second wicked son of Ugrasena, together with his whole army ; and the slaughter of many Dasyas, dragons, and Gandharvas, both separately and together, at different times. In the war of the Kuru-Pándavas Balarám refused to take part, while Krishna proposed that one party should accept his army and the other himself only, upon which the Pándavas took him and the Kurus his army. Throughout the war Krishna was the soul of the Pándava party. The only occasion when Balarám interfered was when Bheem, by an unfair hit, smashed the thigh of Duryodhon, upon which Balarám indignantly pointed out that the rule of fighting with the mace did not allow any stroke below the waist, and threatened to slay all the Pándavas for the blow, and actually pursued and chased them from the field till Krishna interceded for them and mollified him.

Nothing that we have noticed in this chapter actually refers to any *great* war ; but the adventures of Hercules in India are held to indicate a turning-point of Indian history, and therefore deserve to be noted. The events were all contemporaneous with the war of the Mahá-bhárut, some having occurred immediately before and some shortly after it.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WAR OF THE KURUS AND THE PÁNDAVAS.

APPROXIMATE DATE B.C. 1450.

THE Mahábhárut gives details of the disunion between the Kurus and the Pándavas, who were cousins by birth and rivals for the throne of Hastinápore, a place which stood on the Ganges, about forty miles below Hurdwár. The common ancestor of the parties was Bhárat, who laid the foundation of the great *Ríj* of Bháratbarsha, or, at all events, after whom India was so named. The twenty-fourth in descent from Bhárat was Vichitravirya, who dying without issue, Vyasa, his half-brother, raised up seed to him by his widows and a slave—namely, Dhritaráshttra, the blind, by one widow, Pándu, the pale (probably a leper), by another widow, and Vidura, who was without blemish, by the slave. Both Dhritaráshttra and Pándu were brought up by their uncle Bhishma, who had himself renounced the right of succession and taken the vow of a Brahmachári. The succession was also renounced at first by Dhritaráshttra on account of his blindness; and, Vidura being held to be disqualified from his base birth, Pándu was raised to the throne. He preferred, however, the life of a forester to that of a king, and, to indulge his passion for hunting, retired to the woods on the southern slope of the Himálayás, upon which the blind Dhritaráshttra was, with the assistance of

Bhisma as regent, obliged to assume the reins of government. The sons of Dhritaráshtra were one hundred in number, of whom Duryodhon was the eldest. The progeny of Pándu were less numerous, consisting of five sons only, who were poetically said to be begotten by the gods—namely, Yudhisthira by Dharma, Bheem by Pavana, Arjun by Indra, and Nakula and Sahadeva by Aswinikumára. The story was probably invented to cover some family disgrace; and we read that, on the death of Pándu, the Kurus openly asserted the illegitimacy of the Pándavas before their assembled kin. But the priesthood and old Dhritaráshtra befriended them; and, after having been brought up together under the paternal care of Dhritaráshtra and the instruction of Drona, a Bráhmaṇ, Yudhisthira, as the eldest son of the joint family, was installed as heir-apparent. The people afterwards went still further and invested him with the seal of royalty, holding that Dhritaráshtra by his blindness was not qualified to reign; and this led to the Pándavas being exiled by the Kurus, upon which they travelled in disguise, first to Varanvata, then to Ekáchakra, and eventually to Panchála, the Bheel country, then ruled over by Draupada, where Arjun won the hand of Draupadi, the daughter of the king, who became the wife of all the brothers in common.

Strengthened by this alliance the Pándavas threw off their disguise, and the honour won by them induced Dhritaráshtra to recall them, and settle all differences by dividing the kingdom between them and his sons. The portion allotted to the Pándavas was called Khandavaprastha, within which they founded the city of Indraprastha, the ruins of which are shown to this day between modern Delhi and the Kootub Minár. The good management of the Pándavas soon made their city more

prosperous than Hastinápore, and this filled the Kurus with envy and hatred, which were heightened when Yudhisthira undertook to celebrate the Rájsuya sacrifice, and carried out his intent with the assistance of Krishna. The sacrifice implied an assertion of paramount sovereignty, and Duryodhon, the eldest son of Dhritaráshtira, was therefore especially anxious to perform it; but he was disqualified from doing so in the lifetime of his father, not being the head of his own family: and this greatly increased his jealousy. Still plotting for the downfall of the Pándavas, he invited them to a gambling match, and the wisest of them, Yudhisthira, fell into the snare. Tacitus refers to the gambling habits of the ancient Germans. They are, if possible, still stronger among the Hindus. Yudhisthira first staked and lost the throne of Indraprastha, and then, to recover it, staked Draupadi, who was taken by the Kurus as a slave. Still unsatisfied, he staked twelve years of personal liberty; and losing throne, wife, and liberty, became a wanderer, along with his brothers, in the wilderness skirting the distant ocean.

Their term of banishment ended, the Pándavas came back and demanded the restoration of their rights. To this Dhritaráshtira and Bhishma were agreeable; but Duryodhon rejected the claim with scorn, urging that the Pándavas had lost everything in the game for good, and not for any stipulated period, and could not reclaim what they had lost. There was nothing for it now but to fight the matter out, and for this purpose a large army was collected on either side, after which both parties repaired to the plain of Kurukshetra (Thánnesar) and intrenched themselves, Bhishma being appointed commander-in-chief of the Kurus, and Dhristyadyumna, the brother of

Draupadi, the commander-in-chief of the Pándavas. The number of grand-armies on the side of the Pándavas was seven, and on the side of the Kurus eleven. The assistance of Krishna was claimed by both parties, upon which he offered himself to one of them, stipulating that he would lay down his arms and abstain from fighting, and his army of one hundred million warriors to the other. The Pándavas chose the chief, while the Kurus accepted his army. Similarly, Balarám's assistance was also applied for ; but he positively refused to mix in the strife, and so they were obliged to go without him. The great generals on the side of the Pándavas, besides themselves were : Krishna, Draupada, Dhristyadyumna, Sikhandina, Viráta, Satyaki, and Chekitana ; while those on the side of the Kurus were : Bhishma, Karna, Salya, Kripa, Aswathámá, Drona, Somadatta, Vikarma, and Jayadrátha. The war was, as all personal contests are, a war to the knife. There were eighteen days of combat, all of them distinguished by several single engagements, and by individual deeds of great prowess. "The father knew not his son, nor the disciple his preceptor," and the plains were strewed with heaps of the slain, amid the roar of heaven's artillery and the blaze of meteors which shot across the darkened sky. On the tenth day Bhishma was slain, after a terrible conflict with Arjun, upon which the command of the Kurus was assumed by Drona. This made Arjun retire from the contest, from an unwillingness to contend with Drona, which gave a momentary advantage to the Kurus, who distinguished themselves particularly under the lead of Karna and Aswathámá. On the fifteenth day, however, the fortunes of the field were retrieved by Dhristyadyumna, who fought with and destroyed Drona, upon which the command-in-chief of the Kurus was conferred

on Karna, who renewed the fight. Karna was struck down by Bheem, but was rescued by Salya. This was followed by a general engagement, in which the Kurus were assisted by a fresh army of *Mlech'has*, or barbarians. Then followed a personal combat between Bheem and Dushásana, one of the brothers of Duryodhon, who had insulted Draupadi in slavery, for which Bheem had vowed to drink his blood and kill him, which vow was now accomplished. On the seventeenth day there was a great conflict between Karna and Arjun, in which Arjun was wounded and stunned; but, the wheel of Karna's car coming off, Karna was obliged to leap down, and this enabled Arjun to kill him with an arrow. The last general-in-chief of the Kurus was Salya, who had only one day's command, being slain by Yudhisthira. His first encounter was with Bheem, in which both fought with the mace and were equally matched. In his subsequent contest with Yudhisthira he fared worse from the commencement, and was at first aided and rescued by Aswathámá, but was eventually killed. At this juncture Salwa, a leader of the *Mlech'has*, pressed hard on the Pándavas, but was finally repelled and killed by Dhristyadyumna, and, the Pándavas rallying, the Kuru army was again broken. A temporary advantage was gained by them once more from a shower of arrows being discharged by Sakuni; but the continual reverses that followed soon drove them almost entirely out of the field. A final charge made by Duryodhon was easily repelled, which led to a complete and general rout, upon which Duryodhon fled and concealed himself in a lake, while the only chiefs who remained on the field were Kripa, Aswathámá, and Kritavarman. Both the victors and the vanquished then made a search for the missing leader of the

Kurus, who was at last discovered and pressed to return. But Duryodhon was so disheartened that he preferred to surrender the *Ráj* to the Pándavas, and offered to retire to the desert. Yudhisthira, however, refused to accept the *Ráj* except by conquest; and, continuing to taunt Duryodhon, compelled him to emerge from his retreat. The latter now agreed to fight singly with Bheem, and a tedious contest with clubs was carried on, till Bheem terminated it by striking a blow on Duryodhon's thigh, by which he was felled to the ground. The judges of the field declared this to be a felon stroke, as in club-fights no blow below the navel was allowed; but the quarrel was terminated by Krishna proclaiming Yudhisthira to be the rightful king. Aswathámá, being determined to revenge the death of his father Drona, now made a night-attack on the Pándava camp, and killed a large number of warriors in their sleep. He also killed the sons of Draupadi, mistaking them for her husbands; and the news of these deaths revived Duryodhon for a moment, who complimented Aswathámá by saying that not even Bhishma, Karna, or Drona had done such service to his cause as himself. After this, Duryodhon died, and the differences between the Kurus and the Pándavas were finally closed.

The war having terminated in favour of the Pándavas, the eldest of the brothers, Yudhisthira, was raised to the throne, and celebrated the Aswamedh Jagya which established his sovereignty. But they were all dissatisfied with their life in India, and particularly with the result of the war, which had well-nigh exterminated the fifty-six tribes of Jadu; and Arjun, having seen the shade of Vyasa, was advised by him to abandon all worldly concerns, an advice which was accepted by all the brothers,

who placed Parikshit, the grandson of Arjun, on the throne, and tried to return to their Scythian home. They are described as having attempted the passes through Nepál, but are said to have died on the way, one after another, with the sole exception of Yudhisthira and his dog, who in living form went together to heaven—by which Scythia of course is meant. Yudhisthira, the wise and the just, is the Ulysses of the story, with a dash of uprightness and integrity in his character which did not belong to any of the Grecian heroes. Bheem resembles Ajax, and Arjun may be likened to Achilles, though not equally thin-brained. The whole war refers apparently to one of the earliest Scythic inroads into India, of which the date has been approximately fixed at B.C. 1450 or 1400, in which, after having settled in Upper Hindustán, the barbarians fought out a bloody war among themselves, by which they were all but annihilated. All the great chiefs of India of the day, from Afghánistán to Cape Comorin, are mentioned as having joined the conflict on one side or the other; so that, though the commotion was confined to the immediate neighbourhood of Hastinápore, it directly affected the remotest confines of the peninsula.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PERSIAN INVASIONS.

DATES—VARIOUS.

OF the Persian invasions of India the first is said to have been led by Cyrus, who, Xenophon says, made the Indus the eastern boundary of his empire. The Persian writers go further and assert that Roostum, the general of Cyrus, carried on a war of long continuance in the heart of India, subdued the whole country, and, dethroning its sovereign, raised another chosen by himself, who founded a new dynasty. The king of India appears, in this latter account, first as an ally of Áfrásáib, the king of Turán or Tartary, against Cyrus, and is said to have been defeated along with Áfrásáib at Khárisim, on the banks of the Oxus. This victory having extended the dominions of Persia on the east as far as Siestán and Zábulistán, gave Roostum an immediate passage into the heart of India, which, it is asserted, was fully availed of. But, happily for the repose of India afterwards, the fury of Cambyeses, the successor of Cyrus, was directed towards Ethiopia, Lybia, and Egypt; and so little concern was felt for India by the Persians that, by the time of Darius Hystaspes, all the knowledge previously acquired by them in regard to it was entirely forgotten, which led to the exploration of the country about the Indus by Scylax before a fresh invasion of it was attempted.

The project of Darius was based on an envy of the maritime genius of the Greeks, and of the great naval arrangements fitted out by them. He determined to construct a Persian navy of equal strength, and, on its being formed, to test its efficiency he directed Scylax to sail with it down the Indus, ascertain the exact point where the river met the ocean, and then, coasting along the Persian and Arabian shore, enter the Red Sea and sail up to the point whence Necho, king of Egypt, had despatched his fleet to sail round Africa. This hazardous navigation was accomplished by Scylax, and the information furnished by him in respect to India emboldened Darius to invade that country, all the western provinces of which were conquered. But no details of the wars which must have been fought are known. Herodotus only says that India was one of the countries that paid tribute to Darius; and, as the tribute is said to have amounted to nearly a third of the whole revenue of the rest of the Persian dominions, the inference is that a large part of India was conquered. The Persian historian Mirkhond asserts that Isfundear (Xerxes), the son of Darius, also invaded India, and compelled all the princes bordering on the Indus to renounce idolatry and embrace the religion of Zerdosht; and, as he is said to have marched southward so far as to reach the shore of Guzerát to see the Indian Ocean, his line of conquest too would seem to have been pretty extensive.

After the times of Darius and Xerxes, a nominal supremacy over India was arrogated by the Persian kings, and the Persian historians assert that tribute was paid; but the Indians east of the Indus frequently mentioned to the followers of Alexander that they had never before his time been invaded from the west; and, putting this and that together, it would seem that even the conquest of

Darius did not leave much permanent impression far beyond the Indus, while that of Xerxes was probably no better than a raid or marauding expedition that left no mark behind it. We read indeed that Indian troops served under both Xerxes and Darius Codomanus against the Greeks; but that does not necessarily imply the exercise of sovereign authority by the Persians in India, for it has been explained by Arrian that the Persians hired mercenaries from India to fight for them. This at least may be fairly assumed, that, after the time of Darius, there was no great war with India from the direction of Persia, till we come to the invasion of Alexander the Great.

CHAPTER IX.

THE INVASION OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

B.C. 332 to 325.

AFTER the overthrow of the Persian Empire, Alexander, indulging in dreams of universal dominion, advanced towards India, which he believed to be the extremity of the earth. His army at the outset consisted only of thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse; but these represented the flower of the warriors of Greece especially selected to avenge her wrongs on Persia, and their number was afterwards considerably increased by the additions made to them out of the turbulent races which were subdued. The total army brought against India is estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand men. The onward march of the invader was first opposed by some of the frontier tribes known by the now undistinguishable names of the Aspii, Thyraei, and Arasaci. He had next to fight the Assaceni, whose capital, Massagá, did not surrender without a vigorous defence, in which Alexander himself was wounded; and he was considerably surprised at a display of valour which he had not expected. After that, he had to reduce the important out-posts of Bazirá, Orobantes, Ecboliná, and Aornus, the last a rock-crowned fortress reputed to have baffled even the efforts of Hercules; and it was not till all these conquests were

effected that the Macedonians found an open passage to the banks of the Indus.

The first country arrived at was Taxilá, the kingdom of Taxilus, which lay between the Indus and the Jhelum; but the king of it offering no resistance, Alexander gave him a favourable reception. The case was different with Astes, the king of Peucelaotes, which lay between the Indus and the Cophen, or Cow river, who, having endeavoured to oppose the Macedonians, was slain, and his capital taken after a siege of thirty days, and given over to one Sangæus, a native nobleman not friendly to the house of Astes. The passage of Alexander inwards was made easy mainly by this disunion among the native princes, one of the peculiar traits of their character from the remotest times. The sole cause of the ready submission of Taxilus is said to have been his enmity to Porus, Prasenjit, or Pauráva, whose territory lay between the Jhelum and the Chenáb, who was preparing to oppose the Greeks, but had two internal enemies to watch over—namely, Taxilus on one side, and Porus the younger, his own nephew, on the other. The other princes who submitted were Abisarus and Doxoreas, the first of whom is said to have possessed two dragons, one eighty and the other one hundred and forty cubits long, which guarded his mountainous country naturally difficult of access.

The demand of Alexander calling upon Porus to submit and pay tribute, received the high-minded reply that he, Porus, was not accustomed to do either, and that if Alexander wanted to fight with him he would meet him on his frontier, as befitted the position of both, in arms. Alexander received the challenge with pleasure; and Porus, true to his vaunt, guarded the passage of the Jhelum at the head of an army consisting of thirty thou-

sand foot, seven thousand horse, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. The stake on either side was great, the ardour for glory on both nearly equal; but, while Porus and his men trusted to *valour* only for success, Alexander perceived that his surest chance of victory depended on judicious *manœuvre*. To attempt to cross an impetuous river before a foe so daring was soon understood by him to be hopeless. He therefore waited on the bank with apparent indifference, till Porus was thrown off his guard, and then, taking advantage of a tremendous thunder-storm, crossed over when Porus little expected that he would venture to do so. The Hindu army was thus taken entirely by surprise, but still showed better fight than Alexander had anywhere encountered. The first to turn out was a son of Porus at the head of two thousand men, almost all of whom, including the prince, were cut up. This drew forth the veteran hero himself, at the head of his whole army, consisting of more than thirty-four thousand men, while the force which had crossed over with Alexander was only eleven thousand strong; with this difference, that the strength of Porus lay in his infantry, while that of Alexander lay entirely in his cavalry. The Indian horse, nevertheless, broke through and penetrated the centre of the Macedonian army, giving proof of an intrepidity which filled Alexander with astonishment; and the issue of the battle might have been very different from what it was, but for an unanticipated occurrence. The arm on which Porus had chiefly depended for success was his elephant corps, and this effectually contributed to his defeat. The main efforts of the Greeks were directed to frightening the elephants, and in this they succeeded so well that the foot-soldiers of the

Indian king, who were crowded around the elephants, were broken through and trampled over by the animals they themselves had brought to the field. The tumult and confusion thus created forced a precipitate retreat; but Porus still fought with a valour that commanded admiration and respect. Foiled on every side he yet persisted in continuing the war; till Alexander sent him his bosom-friend Meroë, by whom he was induced to submit to fortune and the generosity of a victor who was not vindictive when his passions were not inflamed. Alexander, won by his valour, treated his opponent with unusual liberality. He felt the natural delight of a conqueror who had vanquished one worthy of his arms. Porus was at once restored to liberty, and a free gift made to him of his kingdom, which was largely extended by the addition of the several provinces Alexander had taken from others, Alexander contenting himself by erecting two cities in commemoration of his triumph, one of which was consecrated to the memory of (Peritas) a dog, and the other to that of (Bucephalus) a horse!

The invader next crossed the Chenáb, to occupy the country of Porus the younger, who, deserting his throne, fled for his life. Alexander then passed the Rávee, on the eastern bank of which he found a formidable enemy in the three confederated tribes of the Cathæi, Oxydracæ, and Malli, against whom he was obliged to bring the entire force of his army. The Cathæi, understood to be the same as the Kshetrias, offered him the most vigorous opposition, but were eventually defeated, and their capital, Sangála, taken by storm, seventeen thousand men being killed and seventy thousand taken prisoners. The success of the invader spread terror through the adjacent places, a good many of which were abandoned, the people

flying to the mountains for shelter, while all who could not do so—the aged, the wounded, and the infirm—were barbarously butchered by the Macedonians, on the plea that no second Sangála might arise behind them.

Inflamed with these successes, Alexander crossed the Beyáh, burning to approach the Ganges and meet the Práchi and the Gangarides, whose king, Agrammes—Nanda the Magnificent—was said to be preparing to meet him with an army far more numerous than any he had yet encountered, and whose country was described to him as being the richest in India. But his troops refused to go further. The battles with Porus and the Cathæi had taken off the edge of their courage, and they heard with dismay of the mighty preparations which were being made by Agrammes to receive them, it being reported that he had already assembled an army of two hundred thousand foot, eighty thousand horse, two thousand fighting chariots, and three thousand fighting elephants. The rage and indignation of Alexander at their obstinacy knew no bounds; but he covered both and tried to win them over by reawakening their minds to ambition. “Have you forgotten,” he exclaimed, “the armies of Darius, the uncounted millions who perished before us at Issus and in the defiles of Cilicia, the myriads who vainly opposed us on the plains of Arbela? Are the Gangarides a braver and hardier race than those you have conquered in the Bactrian hills, or those who drenched with blood the Sogdian plain, or those who precipitated themselves before you down the rocky steeps of Aornus? . . . Does the broad and rapid Ganges fill you with dismay? Have you not crossed the unfathomable deep itself? Or is it less safe to pass a wide and majestic river, flowing on with an even though

rapid course, than an impetuous current like the Hydaspes (Jhelum), or a stream foaming over a rocky bed like the Acesines (Chenáb)." But his exhortations and elocution were of no avail. They were received by the soldiers without response or applause, in silence more expressive than words; and Alexander, submitting to circumstances, was compelled to abandon an enterprise from which even his most favourite generals agreed in dissuading him. The Hyphasis, or Sutledge, was the extreme limit of his advance into India; and he built on the banks of it twelve altars of hewn stone, fifty cubits high, as standing memorials of his triumph, before he returned.

In proceeding backwards from the Sutledge, Alexander had again to fight the Oxydracæ and the Malli, who, subdued before, had reassembled to obstruct the return of his army. But Alexander, by marching through a desert country with great rapidity, was able to pierce into the very heart of the kingdom of the Malli unawares, and to reduce them, which so disconcerted the Oxydracæ that they, of their own accord, sent deputies to tender their submission. He then conquered several other mountain-races, captured and crucified one Musicanus, who had revolted after having submitted to him, and similarly punished a large number of Bráhmans who had instigated the revolt.

The further course of Alexander does not require to be followed. After a short excursion to the mouths of the Indus, he reduced the Oritæ (the Beloochees of modern times), and then quitted India by the way of Gedrosiá (Mekrán), by crossing the desert, to Persia. His expedition to India partook more of the character of a raid than a conquest. The progress of his arms was rapid; but all the countries subdued reasserted their indepen-

dence the moment his back was turned on them. What his invasion was chiefly characterised by was its unmitigated barbarity. The ravages and massacres he committed, the barbarous treatment the people suffered from him in many places, exhibit his character in the worst light. But the Indians had mainly themselves to blame for what they had to endure. Alexander would probably never have been able to make any impression against them if they had united their forces to resist him.

CHAPTER X.

THE SEQUEL OF ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

B.C. 323 to 310.

NANDA, the king of Magadha and the Práchi, was killed by his minister Sákátara, who had an intrigue with one of his wives named Mura. He was succeeded by his nine sons by his first wife, Ratnávatí, all of whom are also called Nandas by some authorities, and the *Sumályadikas* by others; but Chandragupta, the son of Mura, who had always an eye to the throne, and who in his youth had proceeded to Alexander's camp with a view to induce him to push on his conquests to the Ganges, applied to Parvateswara, king of Nepál, for assistance against his step-brothers, and opposed them with a formidable army consisting of Nepálese, Greeks, and Scythians. The army of the Sumályadikas, though equally large, was defeated after a great battle which ended with dreadful carnage; and, all the Sumályadikas being killed, Chandragupta was enabled to establish himself firmly on the throne, when, in the true spirit of a Bengali, he turned round upon his allies and drove them away. The king of Nepál, who had been promised one half of the kingdom of Magadha, being unable to enforce his claim, returned to his mountains meditating vengeance, but was soon after murdered by an assassin whom he himself had engaged to destroy Chandragupta.

The Scythians were also sent back; but they did not resent this, as they led a predatory life and returned home loaded with booty. The Greeks, or Javanas, were the only foreigners who were still retained by Chandragupta in his service, apparently with a view to overawe his native enemies till he could conciliate their favour; but he did not the less oppose the establishment of any permanent footing in India by the Greeks. To this end he subsequently collected a large native army, with which he drove out the Greek garrisons from all the fortresses occupied by them, and thus finally delivered the country from the Macedonian yoke.

This was the state of India when Seleucus Nicator, who succeeded Alexander as king of Persia, endeavoured to emulate his conquests, and appeared with an immense army on the banks of the Indus. His ardour was considerably cooled when he learnt that the army of Chandragupta was much larger than his own, numbering six hundred thousand men and a prodigious train of elephants; and that with this force he was advancing to give him battle. At this moment also, he received tidings of the successes of Antigonus in Lesser Asia, which filled his mind with rage and jealousy; and, considering it imprudent to risk a defeat in India, he patched up a peace with Chandragupta by giving him a daughter—probably an illegitimate child born in Persia—to wife; while his satisfied son-in-law agreed on his part to furnish five hundred elephants to Seleucus in his war against Antigonus. Thus, the real subverter of the power of Alexander in the East was Chandragupta, though the subversion was effected without a contest, beyond what was unavoidable in regaining possession of the forts which the Macedonians had occupied.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WARS OF VIKRAMÁDITYA AND SALIVÁHANA.

B.C. 56 TO A.D. 1.

“VIKRAMÁDITYA,” says Elphinstone, “is the Haroun-al-Rashid of Hindu tales ; and, by drawing freely from such sources, Wilford collected such a mass of traditions as required the supposition of no less than eight Vikramádityas to reconcile their dates.” Our present reference is to the Vikramáditya after whom the Samvat era, which commences with B.C. 56, is dated. The story regarding him is that, like Rávana and others, he made a desperate *tapasya* in order to obtain power and a long life, and that he obtained both as a boon from Káli. His greatest service to India was indicated by the resolute stand he made against the inroads of the Scythians, which acquired for him the name of Sákári, or Sákádwisha, the conqueror or foe of the Sákás, several tribes of whom surrendered to him at discretion, while many others were exterminated. As the Sákás at this time held a fabulous character, all the stories about their conqueror are equally wild and extravagant. His power, we are told, was so great that it extended even over the genii and demons, by whom the uncouth raiders from Central Asia are apparently meant. He chastised Vetáldeva, the king of the devils (*i.e.*, Tártárs), and made him his slave, in

which capacity Vetála relates the twenty-five curious stories so well-known to all oriental scholars by the name of *Vetála-Panchabingsati*. His principal conquests comprised *Dakshinápatha* or the Deccan, *Madhyadesa* or Hindustán Proper, Cashmere, and *Surusthra* or Surát. He is also said to have held the countries to the east of the Ganges in subordination, and to have extended his influence even to Ceylon.

The principal event of Vikramáditya's reign was the last, or his quarrel with Saliváhana, who headed an insurrection from the Deccan. Saliváhana is reputed to have been the son of a carpenter of the Takshak, or serpent, race—that is, a Scythian by birth; also, that he was virgin-born, or a bastard. He was apparently the greatest of the Scythian kings then in India, who turned round to attack Vikramáditya from the south when he found him determined to oppose the further accession of Scythic blood into the country. The battle between them was fought at or about the commencement of the Christian era, when both Vikramáditya and his general Vikramsakti were slain. The darkest period of Indian history follows this era, during which the Sákás, no longer kept back by a strong hand, seem to have gradually spread themselves over the best part of the peninsula, in distinct bands, or clans, which appropriated distinct names to themselves. Among these may be counted the four primitive races that settled in Rájasthan—namely, the Pariháras, the Promáras, the Solánkas or Chálukyas, and the Choháns, the first of whom settled in Márwár, the second in Málwá, the third in Guzerát, and the fourth in and about Delhi. Besides these were the Grahilotes of Mewár, the Játs of Jessulmere, the Kachwáhás of Jodpore, the Ráhtores of Kanouj, and all the

other tribes that cut a distinguished figure in the subsequent annals of India. They all claim descent from the old families of Ráma and Krishna; but their affinity with the Scythians seems to be less doubtful.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ARAB INVASIONS.

A.D. 642 TO 834.

THE era of Mahomet's birth witnessed two Persian invasions of India, of which the first was undertaken by Noshirwán the Just, against Pratápa, the rájá of Kanouj, for the exaction of a tribute said to have been agreed upon previously between Básdeo, of Kanouj, and his son-in-law Bahrám Gor, during the latter's travelling expedition through the country. The next was an attack conducted by Noshized, the son of Noshirwán, against Balabhipore in Surát, the original seat of the Udayapore family, who were driven from it and the city destroyed. The accounts given of these invasions rest, however, on very doubtful authority, nor were they of any particular importance. We pass on therefore, after this brief allusion to them, to the Arab invasions by which they were followed.

The invasions of the Arabs commenced within half a century of the Hegirá, and were almost simultaneously directed against Kabool, Kandahár, and Scinde, all of which were at that period regarded as Indian territory. The first attack was undertaken by Abdooláh, governor of Irák, on the part of Kaliph Osmán, in A.D. 642. His orders were to explore the passage to India, and in pursuance of them he subdued the country between, Zaranj

and Kish, and also that between Arachosiá and Dáwár, in the last of which he attacked the idolaters in the mountains of Zur, and obtained from them a large booty, including an idol of gold which had eyes of rubies.

In 663, an eminent commander named Mahálib, with an army consisting chiefly of the tribe of Azd, penetrated in the direction of Bánu and Láhore. Ferishtá regards this as the first Arab invasion of India. Mahálib plundered the country about Mooltán, and made many prisoners. He is said to have also made twelve thousand converts before he retired.

About the same time another chief, named Abbád, made an incursion on the Indian frontier by way of Siestán. He moved through Rudbar to Helmund, and, after staying at Kish, crossed the desert and reached Kandahár. This expedition was successful so far as conquest of territory was concerned; but a great many of the invaders were killed.

Under the Káliphat of Muawiyáh, Abdoor Rahmán, a young Arab general, penetrated into Kabool and conquered the adjacent countries, whereupon the king of Kabool called upon his neighbours to assist him, and the Arabs were driven out. Subsequently, however, another Arab army appeared before Kabool, and forced the king to submit and pay tribute; and the many efforts which were afterwards made by the Kaboolse to recover their independence were invariably defeated.

One of the most violent of these efforts was made by Ranbál, or Rattan Pál, the king of Kabool, in 697, when Abdooláh was governor of Siestán. Abdooláh turned out at once to enforce payment of the tribute on its being refused, and also to subjugate the country which had revolted. But Ranbál, retiring before his assailant, de-

tached troops to his rear, and, blocking up the defiles, entirely intercepted his retreat; upon which Abdooláh, exposed to the danger of perishing by famine, was compelled to purchase his liberation by the payment of a large ransom.

This reverse was avenged in 700, by Abdoor Rahmán, who had intermediately become governor of Khorássán, and who marched again into Kabool, this time at the head of forty thousand men, reconquered the greater part of the country, and retired from it with a large booty. The Kaliph, however, was displeased with him for not remaining on the frontier to secure his conquest; and this compelled him to rebel against him, and, failing in his rebellion, to seek the protection of Rattan Pál, by whom he was betrayed, upon which he destroyed his life by throwing himself headlong from a precipice.

Intermediately, in 685, Mánick Rái, the rájáh of Ajmere and Sámbehur, was attacked in his capital by an Arab army, which crossed the desert from Scinde, to revenge, it is said, the ill-treatment of an Islámite missionary, named Rooshun Áli, whose thumbs had been cut off by the Hindus. The invading force came disguised as a caravan of horse-merchants, and surprised and took possession of Gurh Beetli, the citadel of Ajmere, Doolá Rái, the brother of Mánick Rái, and Lot Deo, the son of Doolá Rái, being slain.

The most important of the Arab invasions was the next, undertaken in 713, by Mahomed Ben Kásim, the general of Kaliph Wálid, who conquered the whole of Scinde, and penetrated even to the Ganges. The way for this conquest had been prepared by several previous incursions in the same direction. The port of Bussoráh was built at the mouth of the Tigris, during the Káliphat of

Omár, chiefly to secure the trade of Guzerát and Scinde, and a powerful army was sent by the Kaliph to Scinde under the command of Abool Áziz, who was killed in battle before Alore. Kaliph Osmán, who succeeded Omár, also collected a large army to prosecute the work left unfinished by his predecessor; but his intention was never carried into effect. Better progress was made by the generals of Kaliph Áli, who made some conquests in Scinde, which, however, were abandoned on Áli's death; and Yezed, the governor of Khorássán, also made several attempts in the same direction, but without any lasting results. Finally, Kaliph Wálid was provoked to make up for lost time on being informed of the seizure of an Arab ship by the Hindus at Dewal, a sea-port of Scinde. The restitution of the ship was first demanded at the head of a small force of thirteen hundred men, and being refused and the detachment defeated, a regular army of six thousand Arabs was sent under Kásim to enforce it. The first place captured was Dewal itself, after which the strongholds of Brámanábád, Nerun, Sehwán, and Sálím were successively reduced. Lastly, Kásim appeared before Alore, where Abool Áziz had been slain. The army under him amounted now to eight thousand men, but that commanded by Rájáh Dáhir was, or at least is reported by the Mahomedan authors to have been, fifty thousand strong. Kásim chose, therefore, a strong position for himself, and there awaited the attack of the Hindus. In the action which followed he was particularly favoured by fortune, the Hindu chief being wounded during the heat of the attack and carried off from the field by the elephant he rode, which so dispirited his followers that they were easily defeated, notwithstanding the return of the rájáh and his desperate

attempts to rally them. Dáhir Despati fell fighting bravely in the midst of the Arab cavalry. His widow made a strong defence of the citadel, but failing to retain it, burnt herself to death in the usual Rájput style, while her followers rushed sword in hand on the enemy and perished to a man. The whole of Scinde was then conquered by the Arabs, and all the adjoining States, even up to the Ganges, were made tributary ; but the further conquests contemplated by the invaders were suddenly, in a strange manner, cut short. Among the spoils of victory sent to the Kaliph were two daughters of Dáhir, who, revenge their father's death, represented falsely to Wálid that they had been violated by Kásim before being sent to him, and were therefore unworthy of his notice. This so enraged the Kaliph that he gave orders for Kásim's destruction, which were promptly carried out ; and the advance of the Arabs into the interior of India ceased with the life of their chief.

The efforts in the direction of Kabool were still continued. In 725, under the Káliphat of Háshem, a part of that kingdom was again taken ; the conquest of the whole of it being afterwards completed by Almáman, governor of Khorássán; when the king of Kabool was converted to Islámism. Subsequently, however, Kabool appears to have been repossessed by Hindu kings, for in the days of Subaktágin the authority of the kings of Lúhore is stated to have extended over both Kabool and Kandahár.

Fifty years after the acquisition of Kabool, the Arabs were seen in another direction, Kaliph Al Mahdi having, in 776, despatched an army by sea under Abdool Málik, which embarked at Barodá and besieged it. The people of Barodá defended themselves vigorously, notwithstanding which the place was reduced. But the sea rose

against the invaders, and they were obliged to wait a long time before they could attempt to return; and, after they did so, the winds arose again when they had all but reached the coast of Persia, where several of their vessels were wrecked: and, while some escaped, many were drowned.

The only other expedition requiring to be here noticed is that which was sent out in 834, by Kaliph Al Mutásim, under the command of Ásaph Ben Isá, against the Játs, who had seized upon certain roads which cut off the Arabs settled in India from the coast, and had also plundered the corn which they had stacked for their use. The attack of the invaders was continued for twenty-five days, and, the Játs being defeated, a great many of them were taken prisoners, while the rest were compelled to ask for quarter. After this, the sword of conquest and conversion was temporarily withdrawn from Hindustán, the Arabs being too desperately engaged with the Christians in the West to think much of India. We, accordingly, do not read of any further Mahomedan invasions till Subaktágin, the governor of Khorássán, had hoisted the standard of independent sovereignty in Ghazni.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EXPEDITIONS OF SUBAKTÁGIN.

A.D. 967 TO 997.

SUBAKTÁGIN was a soldier of fortune, who acquired the throne of Ghazni by marrying the daughter of the previous ruler, Abistágin or Alptágin, under whom he had commenced service as a private dragoon. As this claim, however, was not fully recognised by the turbulent Afgháns, he determined to divert their attention from his personal pretensions by keeping them actively engaged abroad, and under the pretext of religion commenced a destructive war with his neighbours, the Hindus. He not only ravaged the frontiers of India, but captured many of its hill-forts and cities, which forced Jaipál, the Tuar king of Delhi and Láhore, whose empire included Kabool and Kandahár, to think of reprisals. A large army was accordingly led by Jaipál into Lamghán, at the mouth of the valley extending from Peshawar to Kabool, where it was met by Subaktágin; and a desultory warfare was carried on between the two parties for several days. On the eve of a general engagement, the armies on both sides were overtaken by a tremendous hurricane accompanied by thunder, lightning, and rain, upon which great fear fell upon the Hindus, who, unaccustomed to the coldness of the place, regarded the fury of the elements as an interposition of Providence against

them, which induced Jaipál to send a deputation to Subaktágin to solicit peace. To this Subaktágin reluctantly consented, the terms proposed by him being the payment of a million dirhems and the present of fifty elephants, together with the surrender of certain forts and cities on the frontier. These conditions were so exorbitant that Jaipál considered himself justified in meeting extortion with perfidy, and he refused to complete the agreement the moment he saw the backs of the Afgháns turned upon India. He had sent hostages to Subaktágin in acceptance of his proposals, and Subaktágin on his part had sent him some of his chief officers to take possession of the fortresses and towns to be ceded. These latter were detained as prisoners by Jaipál against the return of the hostages he had given; and this made Subaktágin particularly indignant.

The result was a second invasion of India by Subaktágin, at the head of seventy thousand horse, the opening attack being directed against the city of Lamghán, which was captured. Several other cities also were successively reduced, and many idol-temples demolished, which made the Hindu rájáhs unite against the common enemy. The Mahomedan authors say that the ruler of Láhore and Delhi was confederated with the rulers of Ajmere, Kalinjar, and Kanouj, and that their united forces amounted to one hundred thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot. They add that Subaktágin regarded these vast numbers as but a flock of sheep, and felt like a wolf in assailing them. He divided his army into small squadrons of five hundred men each, and ordered them to fall upon the enemy with maces in their hands, relieving each other in succession as they got tired, whereby fresh men and horses were perpetually brought in con-

tact with the Hindus. This so harassed the latter that they soon began to waver, when Subaktágin ordered a general assault which completed their defeat, and forced a precipitate flight towards the banks of the Niláb. Many of the fugitives were cut to pieces; the jungles were filled with the bodies of the dead, some wounded by swords, and others fallen dead through fright: still greater numbers perished in attempting the passage of the river. The plunder of the Indian camp was excessively rich, besides which heavy contributions were realised by the Afgháns from all the surrounding districts. Jaipál was now content to submit, and agreed to pay tribute, besides making a present of two hundred elephants to the conqueror. Subaktágin also took direct possession of the country up to the Indus, and left an Afghán governor at Peshawar.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE INVASIONS OF MÁHMOOD OF GHAZNI.

A.D. 1000 to 1027.

MÁHMOOD, the son of Subaktágin, made seventeen expeditions into India, not so much for the purposes of conquest, as for the suppression of idolatry and for plunder. He is said to have made a vow to Heaven on his accession to the throne of Ghazni that, if his own dominions were blessed with tranquillity, he would follow his father's example and try to extirpate idolatry from India. The time for giving effect to this vow arrived when Ishmail, his brother, who had disputed his succession, was defeated and made prisoner; and he fully vindicated his promise by raising a succession of storms and tumults in India which desolated her peaceful plains. The number of his expeditions is usually taken at twelve; but particulars are given of not less than the number we have mentioned at the outset.

The first expedition of Máhmood was undertaken in A.D. 1000, when many of the frontier forts and provinces, which had before been taken by Subaktágin, were re-occupied, which was followed by the Mahomedan government being established in them. No detailed accounts of this expedition are extant; but it is said that near the Lamghán valley two actions were fought, both of which were miraculously decided in favour of the Mahomedans.

The second expedition was undertaken in 1001-2, when Máhmood entered India at the head of fifteen thousand horse, and was met at Peshawar by Jaipál, his father's opponent, with twelve thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, and three hundred elephants. An obstinate battle was terminated by the defeat of the Hindu king, who was taken prisoner with fifteen of his chiefs and relatives, after a loss of five thousand men. Among the plunder secured was a necklace snatched from the neck of Jaipál, which was valued at 320,000*l*. The next move of the invader was to Bihand, or Waihand, a strong fort about fifteen miles distant from Attock, which was reduced. But, unwilling to go further on this occasion, he here released all his prisoners on receipt of a large ransom and after stipulating for the payment of an annual tribute. He then went back to Ghazni, while Jaipál, being ashamed to survive his overthrow, burnt himself to death, and was succeeded by his son Anang Pál, on the throne.

The third expedition of Máhmood was undertaken in 1004-5, in consequence of the alleged non-payment of the tribute above stipulated for. The first attack was on Bherá, on the left bank of the Jhelum, the capital of a powerful prince of the Punjáb, named Biji Rái, who drew out his troops to receive him, and fought on equal terms for three days and nights. On the fourth day a great battle was fought, when Máhmood, turning his face towards the holy Caabá, invoked the aid of the Prophet in the presence of his army. Biji Rái, on his part, also invoked the aid of his gods; but the superstitious fervour of the Mahomedans was greater than that of the Hindus, and the latter were therefore obliged to give ground, being pursued even to the gates of their capital, which

was invested. Biji Rái was able to escape from this place; but, being pursued by his enemies and deserted by his friends, he turned his sword against his own breast to avoid being captured. A great slaughter followed, and Bherá being taken was plundered, and yielded a rich booty.

In the following year (1005-6) Máhmood invaded Mooltán, the king of which, Dáood, an Afghán, was not to his liking, as he was supposed to have seditious designs in his heart, the best proof of which, it was noted, was his indifference in making proselytes. The way of Máhmood to Mooltán lay through the territories of Anang Pál, who, refusing him passage, met him with an army at Peshawar, but was defeated and compelled to fly for refuge to Cashmere. Mooltán was now entered by the invader by the way of Bherá; but Dáood, surrendering himself and soliciting to be pardoned, was received into favour, as being a Mahomedan, while a fine of twenty million dirhems was exacted from the people, who were Hindus. A tribute of twenty thousand dinárs annually was then fixed on Dáood; after which Máhmood hastened back to Ghazni on hearing that the king of Káshgar had invaded it, leaving the settlement of other affairs in India in the hands of Záb Sais, a converted Hindu, better known by his original name of Sookpál.

The bad faith of Sookpál, who threw off his allegiance when he thought he could do so with impunity, gave occasion to Máhmood's fifth invasion of India, in 1007—that is, after he had settled the affairs of his own country. But nothing was done this time beyond defeating Sookpál and carrying him off as a prisoner, after extorting from him a fine of four hundred thousand dirhems.

Máhmood's sixth expedition was undertaken in 1008-9, and was at first directed only against Anang Pál, who had been raising disturbances in Mooltán. But Anang Pál appealing to his brother Hindu princes for assistance, and offering to make common cause against the Mahomedans, a confederacy was formed by the rulers of Oujein, Gwálior, Kalinjar, Kanouj, Delhi, and Ajmere, who collected all their forces together to give battle to the invader. The opposing armies met near the confines of Peshawar, but for forty days remained inactive, watching each other. The Hindus were intermediatoly joined by the Gickers and other mountain tribes, and, thus strengthened, began to surround the Mahomedans, who, fearing a general assault, intrenched themselves. Within these intrenchments they were attacked by the Gickers, and five thousand of them were slain. In the action that followed, Máhmood is said to have used naphtha-balls, which so frightened the elephant of Anang Pál that it became ungovernable and fled, disconcerting the whole Hindu army and causing a general rout. The flying Hindus were pursued for two days and nights, and eight thousand of them were killed. Máhmood then marched down to Nágrákote, now known as Kotekangrá, breaking down idols and subverting temples. The fort of Bheemnugger, which protected the district, was invested, and the country around it was destroyed with fire and sword. Inside the fort, which was considered to be of great strength, a large amount of wealth had been concealed, all of which fell into the hands of the invader on its being reduced. Ferishtá describes the plunder as consisting of seven hundred thousand golden dinárs, seven hundred maunds of gold and silver plate, forty maunds of gold ingots, two thousand

maunds of silver bullion, and twenty maunds of jewels set.

The seventh invasion, undertaken in 1010, was for the conquest of Nárdain, by which Anhalwára, the capital of Guzerát, is understood to be meant. This was probably a preparative expedition towards Somnáth. The result of it is not very clearly stated, but must have been successful, since it caused such alarm in Anang Pál as induced him to offer submission and the payment of a tribute of fifty elephants annually to the Afghán, besides the supply of a hireling Indian force of two thousand men.

The eighth invasion by Máhmood, in 1011, was directed against Mooltán, which had again revolted. The place was soon reduced, many of its chiefs were killed, and the son of the governor was carried off to Ghazni, as hostage for his father's future good faith.

The ninth invasion is dated 1013. It had reached the ears of Máhmood that Thánnesar, a place near Delhi, was held by the Hindus in as much veneration as Meccá itself was by the Mahomedans, and that they had there set up a large number of rich idols, of which the chief was Jugsoom. He resolved thereupon to destroy the idols. As there was peace between him and Anang Pál who had submitted to him, the rájáh ventured to plead for the preservation of the place, offering on behalf of the ruler of Delhi, to whom it belonged, the tribute of the country annually, and fifty elephants and jewels as a present. But the bigot would accept no compromise, and sent for reply that it was his firm resolution to root out idolatry from the land, naïvely asking—"Why then should Thánnesar be spared?" On receipt of this answer the rájáh of Delhi attempted to induce the other Hindu

princes to join him in opposing the assailant. But before any combination could be formed he was attacked and defeated by Máhmood, and Thánnesur reduced and plundered, the idols being all broken, and Jugsoom sent off to Ghazni, to be thrown on the highway that it might be trampled over by the faithful. The booty secured was very large, and included a ruby of fabulous size. Máhmood then wanted to reduce Delhi, but was dissuaded from the attempt on its being represented to him that it would not be possible to keep possession of the place till all the country between it and his own dominions had been thoroughly subdued. Assenting to this representation he retired with his plunder to Ghazni.

In 1014, Máhmood attacked the fort of Nindooná, situated on the mountains of Balnát, which was in the possession of the king of Láhore. Anang Pál had died intermediately, and had been succeeded by Pur Jaipál, or Jaipál II., who was defeated at the Márgalá Pass, and retreated to Cashmere. Máhmood then invested Nindooná in regular form, and by mining and other processes compelled the garrison to capitulate. He afterwards pursued Jaipál to the hills; but, failing to get at him, plundered Cashmere, forcibly converting the people to Mahomedanism.

In 1015, Máhmood made a fresh attempt to penetrate the higher fastnesses of Cashmere, and besieged several forts not previously reduced. One of them, however, named Lohkote, which was famous for its high position and strength, defied his utmost efforts, upon which he returned to Ghazni in disgust. On the way he was led astray by his guides, and fell into an extensive morass covered with water, from which he could not extricate his army for several days. This chagrined him so much that

he swore that he would have nothing more to do with the horrid country of the idolaters ; but, like a good Mahomedan, he did not allow himself to be long held down by such a renegade oath.

The twelfth invasion of Máhmood was undertaken in 1018, and was on a very large scale. A hundred thousand horse and thirty thousand foot had been intermediately raised by him in the warlike countries of Turkestán, Maverulnere, and Khorássán, and he determined with these to lay siege to Kanouj, at this time one of the most important cities in India, which, situated in the heart of the country, had never yet been approached. The route followed has been much disputed. It would appear that he passed by the borders of Cashmere, that is, close under the Sub-Himálayan range, and, crossing the Jumná, invaded Báran, the modern Bolundshahar, which belonged to Rájáh Hardat. The place capitulated readily, the rájáh paying to the victor a present of Rs. 250,000 and thirty elephants ; upon which the latter passed on to Mahában, another strong place on the Jumná, and invested it. Kálchund, the prince of this State, was also willing to submit, and came out to that end, when a quarrel was got up with him for the sake of plunder, upon which he killed himself, which placed much rich spoil in the hands of the invader, including seventy elephants. Máhmood went next to Mathoorá, which was entered without opposition ; and, the idols here being broken down and melted, brought him an immense quantity of gold and silver. He intended to break down the temples also, but was dissuaded from the sacrilege by the beauty and structure of the edifices, even bigotry acknowledging the influence of taste. Among the plunder taken were five big idols of pure gold with

eyes of rubies, one idol of sapphire, besides a large number of silver idols which loaded a hundred camels. The Mahomedans did indeed find India a country of fabulous wealth: alas, that similar luck was not reserved for their successors! For twenty days the bigoted barbarian sacked the city with fire and sword, and then marched on to other forts and districts to reduce them. Recrossing the Jumná he now suddenly appeared before Kanouj; so suddenly that Korrá, the king, was entirely taken by surprise, and, having made no preparations for resistance, was obliged to submit without a contest, and sue for peace. This was granted to him, but, some relate, only on his agreeing to become a Mahomedan. The victor then proceeded to Munj, or Munjháwan, a strong fort which made a spirited resistance; after which the garrison—consisting entirely of Kanoujiá Bráhmans—rushed through the breaches on the place becoming untenable, and flung themselves right upon the enemy to certain destruction, or burnt themselves to death along with their wives and children, not one surviving their defeat. The fort of Ásni, belonging to Chánd Pál, was next taken, but not till it had been evacuated, Máhmood getting, however, what he wanted—a large plunder. From Chánd Rái, a prince who fled to the Bundelkund hills, an enormous elephant of great docility and courage was obtained; after which, loaded with spoils, the victor went back to his mountain-home. The sum total of his booty in this expedition amounted to twenty million dirhems, fifty-three thousand captives, and three hundred and fifty elephants.

The thirteenth expedition, in 1021, was again directed towards Kanouj, the princes of the country adjoining which had fallen upon Korrá for having entered into an

alliance with the invader. Máhmood was not able to arrive in time to save Korrá, who was attacked by Nanda, the rájá of Kalinjar, and slain. All that the Afghán could do was to pursue Nanda to his own frontiers, where he received Máhmood at the head of thirty-six thousand horse, forty-five thousand foot, and six hundred and fifty elephants. But Máhmood succeeded in defeating him, and Nanda was barely able to escape from the field ; which secured to the victor a large plunder, including five hundred and eighty elephants.

The next expedition was, in 1023, directed against two frontier countries named Kirát and Noor, which had refused to accept Mahomedanism in preference to Buddhism which they professed. Kirát, unable to contend with the invader, received the prophet's faith ; but Noor still would not, and was overrun and pillaged, and the temples destroyed. Máhmood went thence to Láhore, after a second vain attempt to capture the fortress of Lohkote, in Cashmere. As Jaipál had obstructed the invader's march to Kanouj, Láhore was now given up to be sacked, and was then formally annexed to Ghazni, Jaipál flying to Ajmere for security.

In 1024, Máhmood undertook a fresh expedition against Nanda, the king of Kalinjar. In passing by the fort of Gwálior he wished to take it, but was bought off by rich presents ; after which Kalinjar was invested. To get the siege raised Nanda offered three hundred elephants and other presents ; but, upon the terms being agreed to, he intoxicated the animals with drugs and let them loose without drivers against the Mahomedan camp. The desire to intimidate the invaders was, however, unsuccessful ; the Afgháns and Turks mounted the animals and reduced them to obedience : upon which Nanda again

made his peace by other large presents and a flattering epistle, with the latter of which the Afghán king was so well pleased that he conferred on Nanda the government of fifteen forts.

The sixteenth invasion of Máhmood was undertaken in 1026, and was directed against the temple of Somnáth, in Guzerát, which was said to be very rich and greatly respected by the Hindus. He collected an army of thirty thousand horse, besides volunteers who flocked in large numbers, and, marching through Mooltán, was first opposed on the banks of the Sutledge by Gogá Chohán, who held the whole of Junguldesa, or the forest-lands from the Sutledge to Hurriánáh, and came out to oppose him, accompanied by forty-five sons and sixty nephews. The opposition, however, was fruitless, all the family of Gogá being slain, after which Máhmood proceeded on to Ajmere, crossing the desert. He attacked Gurh Beetli, but was repulsed from it, retreating to Nadole, which he sacked. He afterwards captured Anhalwára, which he found deserted, and to which he did as much mischief as could be done by fire and sword. When Somnáth was reached he discovered it to be a lofty castle situated on a narrow peninsula washed on three sides by the sea. The people were found in high spirits, expecting a miraculous interposition on the part of their deity and the entire destruction of the invading army. But the god was singularly cold-hearted, and would not interfere; and the Hindus, after a violent defence, in which two of their princes, named Byrám Deo and Dabshilima, particularly distinguished themselves, were obliged to submit. An attempt at flight by sea was made by some; but their boats were overtaken and many of them sunk. Máhmood then entered the temple, and was enraged at the sight of

the idol, a Lingam of stone five yards high. He is said to have struck the block with his mace, after which it was ordered to be broken into two and the parts sent to Ghazni, one to be placed at the threshold of the Jamá Musjeed and the other at the court of the king's palace, that they might be trodden over daily by the loyal and the devout. The gates of the temple were at the same time removed to Ghazni, to be brought back again to India by another zealot after the Afghán war! In the hollow of the Lingam a large quantity of diamonds, rubies, and pearls was found, to reward the cupidity of the victor when he was just beginning to regret that he had not accepted the offer of the Bráhmans to ransom their god for a money-equivalent. Among other spoils was also a chain of gold weighing forty maunds, which hung from the top of the temple and supported a large bell. One Mahomedan historian gravely records that no light was kept in the temple beyond a pendent lamp, the rays of which, reflected from the jewels all round, spread a brilliant refulgence over the whole place. The princes who had endeavoured to defend the place—Byráam Deo and Dabshilima—were next hunted down by the vindictive Afghán, the fort of Náhrwára, belonging to the first, being carried by assault. The second also was vanquished, and is said to have been carried a prisoner to Ghazni, the government of Guzerát being intrusted to another Dabshilima, a Bráhman. It is more probable, however, that the Bráhman and the prince were one and the same person, who, by subsequent submission, had found favour in the eyes of the victor.

The last of Máhmood's invasions was undertaken in 1027, and was directed against the Játs, who had insulted him and molested his army on his way back from Somnáth.

This people inhabited the country on the borders of Mooltán, near the banks of the Jhelum. To approach them with greater facility Máhmood ordered fourteen hundred boats to be built, each of which was armed with three firm iron pikes and boarded by twenty archers, besides five other men who carried inflammable and explosive missiles to burn the craft of the Játs. The conflict was deadly. All the Ját boats were set on fire, or set fire to each other. Very few of the invaded people were able to escape death, and of such as did so most were taken prisoners.

At the time of Máhmood's invasions, the four primary States of India were: (1) Delhi, under the Tuárs and Choháns, (2) Kanouj, under the Ráhtores, (3) Mewár, under the Ghelots, and (4) Anhalwára, under the Chaurás and Solánkas. All these States were at war with each other. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Mahomedans were able so easily to vanquish the Hindus.

CHAPTER XV.

THE INVASIONS OF MAHOMED GHORI, AND THE CONQUEST OF
INDIA BY THE MAHOMEDANS.

A.D. 1176 to 1204.

THE house of Ghazni was overturned by that of Ghor, after which Mahomed, the brother of Gheásudeen, the Ghorian prince, undertook the subjugation of India.

He first invaded it in 1176, when the provinces of Peshawar, Mooltán, and Scinde were overrun. He then advanced to Adjá, the prince of which shut himself up in a strong fort which was besieged. Finding it very difficult to reduce the place, Mahomed opened secret negotiations with the rájá's wife, promising to marry her if she made away with her husband and delivered up the fort. The ránee promised to comply, provided Mahomed agreed to appoint her to the government of the country, and to marry her daughter instead of herself, as she was already past the age for a second union being desirable to her. The baseness on both sides being equal the modified proposal was accepted, upon which the king of Adjá was killed by his wife and his fortress surrendered. Mahomed married the daughter of the rájá as he had promised, but she died of a broken heart. Her mother, instead of being left in charge of the country, was sent a prisoner to Ghazni.

In 1178, Mahomed reinvaded India, and, proceeding

through Mooltán and Adjá, passed into Guzerát, the king of which, Bheem Deo, advanced with a large army to give him battle. In this action Mahomed was defeated with great slaughter, and suffered many hardships on his way back to Ghazni through the desert.

In 1179, Mahomed attacked Peshawar a second time, and conquered it; and, in the following year, proceeded towards Láhore, which was held by Chusero, the last of the Ghaznian kings, who bought him off with presents, sending his son as a hostage for his good faith. Chusero does not appear, however, to have acted loyally, and Láhore was reinvested in 1184, when it was able to withstand a long siege. A third attack was made on it two years after, and succeeded fully from deceit and stratagem. Finding that the city held out so obstinately, Mahomed proposed to accommodate differences by a peace, and to lull Chusero to a belief in his professions, sent back his son with a splendid retinue. This drew out Chusero from the fort to meet him; whereupon Mahomed cut him off from his stronghold, the possession of which was demanded as a condition of Chusero's release. The city was thus obliged to throw open its gates to the invader, and the last refuge of the house of Ghazni was taken; while Chusero and his family, instead of being released, were sent as prisoners to a fort in Ghirgistán, and there put to death.

In 1190-91, Mahomed penetrated again into India, and further than he had ever done before, proceeding to Ajmere, where he took the town of Tiberhind. He was already on his way back when he heard that Prithu Rái, the king of Ajmere, and Chánd Rái, his brother and viceroy in Delhi, in alliance with other Hindu princes, were in pursuit of him with two hundred thousand horse

and three thousand elephants. Mahomed went back to give them battle, which was fought at Tirouri, on the banks of the Seraswati, fourteen miles from Thánnesur. At the first onset his right and left wings were broken, and, being outflanked, his army was entirely surrounded, while he busied himself vainly in attempting to break the centre of the enemy. In this situation he defended himself with great courage; but, Chánd Rái having succeeded in wounding him, the whole of his army was routed, and he himself was rescued with great difficulty, the Hindus running after him forty miles in pursuit, till he found safety in Láhore, where he got cured of his wounds.

To avenge this defeat Mahomed recruited a fresh army of one hundred thousand horsemen, picked out of Turks, Persians, and Afgháns, and returned to India in 1192. "Since my defeat in India," said he, "I have never slumbered in ease, nor waked but in sorrow and anxiety. I have therefore determined with this army to recover my lost honour or die in the attempt." He now called forth the *omráhs* who had deserted him on the last occasion and whom he had placed under confinement, and told them that he gave them one further opportunity to wipe out their disgrace. Prithu Rái, on his part, was not slow in making preparations to resist the invader. The Mahomedan authors, who always give the Hindus the credit of superior numbers on the field to enhance the value of the victories won over them by their co-religionists, assert that Prithu was assisted by one hundred and fifty confederate princes, and brought together an army of three hundred thousand horse, three thousand elephants, and a great body of infantry. The action was fought on the banks of the Seraswati, nearly on the same spot

where his former victory was won. The Indian princes, elated with their previous success, anticipated an easy conquest again; while Mahomed, to gain time, affected to be doubtful of his position, and gave out that he had written to his brother, the king of Ghor, to ask if the war was to be pursued. This pretence of indecision threw the Hindus off their guard, and enabled Mahomed to surprise them in the midst of their festivities. They were, nevertheless, able to form in line to oppose him, and gave him a warmer reception than he could have anticipated; till, becoming lulled by a certainty of victory, they began to flag in their exertions, when Mahomed made a sudden and resolute charge on them at the head of a chosen reserve of twelve thousand horse, and breaking through their ranks, scattered them in dismay. Chánd Rái was killed, and Prithu Rái taken prisoner and afterwards put to death. The plunder was immensely rich, and the forts of Seraswati, Samana, Koram, and Hánsi surrendered of themselves. Ajmere was also taken, the inhabitants being butchered in cold blood or sold to slavery; but, upon promise of the payment of a large tribute, the government of the country was given up to Golá, the son of Prithu, while Kuttubudeen Ibek, one of the slaves of Mahomed, was left at Koram with a considerable detachment. Kuttub was shortly after able to capture the fort of Meerut and the city of Delhi, and this gave rise to the assertion that the empire of Delhi was founded by a slave.

In 1194, Mahomed again invaded India with an army of fifty thousand horse, to attack Jayachánd, king of Kanouj and Benáres, who opposed him at the head of a stronger army that included four hundred fighting-elephants. The battle was fought on the banks of the

Jumná, at a place midway between Chundwár and Etáwáh, where Jayachánd was defeated, mainly by Kuttub, and flying whence he got drowned in crossing the Ganges. The fort of Ásni was next taken, where property in gold, silver, and precious stones was found to a considerable amount. Mahomed then proceeded to Benáres, where he broke down the idols in above one thousand temples, and collected an immense plunder. Kuttub at the same time, operating in other directions, first defeated Hemráj, a relative of Prithu Rái of Ajmere, and then, marching against Bheem Deo of Guzerát, destroyed his army and plundered his country. All the great kingdoms of India were thus simultaneously overthrown.

The secret history of India shows that these disasters were mainly brought upon the country by the disunion of the Hindu princes themselves. Anang Pál II., the last Tuár king of Delhi, having no son, adopted and abdicated his throne in favour of his grandson Prithu Rái, king of Ajmere, the son of one of his daughters. This gave offence to Jayachánd, who was similarly related to the Tuár king, and heightened the rivalry and jealousy already subsisting between the Choháns and the Ráhtores. The ill-feeling on both sides was augmented when Jayachánd, aspiring at paramount sovereignty, undertook to perform the Rájsuya sacrifice, at which the presence of all dependent kings was required, which Prithu necessarily did not attend. The disagreement was yet further complicated by a love-affair. Jayachánd, in an errant expedition to Ceylon, had captured a beautiful damsel whom he had adopted as his daughter, and whom he wanted to marry to some powerful king who would acknowledge his supremacy.

The girl, however, obstinately refused to wed any one but Prithu, having heard of his valour and achievements, and, being kept under confinement for her recusancy, was released by the Chohán and carried off. The sinews of Delhi were lost by Prithu in this devoir, and his best warriors slain. Jayachánd leagued himself immediately with Mahomed Ghori to destroy Prithu; and Mahomed took advantage of their quarrels to destroy both. After the conquest of Delhi, Ajmere, and Kanouj by the Mahomedans, the son of Jayachánd, flying from the last place, founded a new Ráhtore empire in the desert of Márwár; but the Tuár and Chohán dynasties were never able to rise again.

In 1195, Mahomed attacked and took Bianá, and directed Togril to lay siege to Gwálíor, which was eventually taken; but, attempting to extend his conquests further to the south, Togril received a terrible defeat from the Rájpoos, and was forced to fly to his forts for refuge. Kuttubudeen, likewise, was hard pressed at Guzerát and Ajmere, but succeeded afterwards in reducing Anhalwára with its immediate dependencies, after a severe battle fought from dawn till mid-day, from which Rái Karan, the ruler of Guzerát, fled only with his life. The forts of Kalinjar and Kalpee in Bundelkund, which had belonged to Rái Parmár, were also reduced; but, instead of demolishing them wholly, Kuttub was content to convert all the temples found in them and in their neighbourhood, into mosques; and, this policy being generally followed by him, contributed much to his popularity.

Previous to this Mahomed, hitherto acting as his brother's general, was, on the demise of Gheásudeen, called to the Ghaznian throne. His last expedition to

India was undertaken in 1203, when he came to it to chastise the Gickers, who inhabited the country between the Niláb and the Sewálik mountains, and had rebelled against him. The Gickers were defeated by a joint attack made on them by Mahomed from one side and Kuttub from another, and the carnage was so great that in their country "there remained not an inhabitant to light a fire." A band of twenty Gickers made up their minds to avenge this unnecessary and heartless slaughter, and, seeking for an opportunity, burst into the tent of Mahomed at Rimeik—some say at night, and others in the evening, when Mahomed was engaged in prayer—and assassinated him, piercing him with no less than forty wounds.

The empire left by Mahomed in India included the whole of Hindustán Proper, except Málwá and some contiguous districts. In Guzerát, the capital, Anhalwára, and the districts adjacent to it, had been acquired; extensive conquests had also been made in the direction of Scinde; and a great part of Bengal and Behár had already submitted to Buktyár Khiliji, while the remainder was being rapidly reduced.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONQUESTS OF BUKTYÁR KHILIJI.

A.D. 1199 TO 1204.

THE name of Buktyár Khiliji is known as that of the first Mahomedan conqueror of Behár and Bengal. He served under Kuttubudeen Ibek, and obtained for his activity and valour two places, named Sáhlat and Sáhli, to the east of the Oude frontier, in *gyghere*. Being a bold and enterprising man he began to ravage the contiguous districts of Behár and Monghyr, from which he brought away much money, and plenty of horses, arms, and men. The fame of his bravery and raids invited down a body of Khilijis from Afghánistán, who took service under him; and he led these into Behár every year to plunder it. He was at last, in 1199, placed at the head of an army especially collected for the conquest of Behár; and, succeeding in the enterprise, was made governor of the country. The fort of Behár was captured by him at the head of two hundred horse only.

Both his orders and his inclination directed him next to the conquest of Bengal, the ruler of which was Lakhmaniya, or Lakhman II., who reigned with the assistance of astrologers and Bráhmans. When the intention of the Khiliji came to be known, the astrologers and Bráhmans fled to Jagganáth, Banga, and Kámroop, and advised Lakhmaniya to do likewise; but, at that time, the rájáh vindicated his valour by refusing to comply. A year after Buktyár appeared suddenly before

Nuddeá, the capital of Bengal, with only eighteen horsemen at his back, and drawing his sword attacked the palace. The apprehension in the palace was that he had a large army behind him, and the rájá, who was at dinner, leaving the dishes untouched, escaped barefooted by the back-door of his residence, taking boat to Jagga-náth, where he died. All his wealth and women fell into the hands of the invader.

Bengal was entirely subdued in one year, and the seat of government removed to Gour; after which Buktyár declared his independence of the sovereign at Delhi. His easy success thus far emboldened him to look for further conquests in the east. With this object he marched to the banks of the Brahmapootra, whence he wished to proceed to Thibet; but a desperate opposition was here made by the natives, who fought only with bamboos and spears, and bows and arrows; and many of the Mahomedans were slain. Buktyár was yet more disheartened on becoming acquainted with the nature of the country and the difficulty of the mountain-passes by which he had expected to enter Thibet; and he therefore determined to retire. This, however, was no longer an easy matter. He was again beset by the natives at Kámroop, and, approaching a river which he thought fordable, his followers threw themselves into it and were mostly drowned. Buktyár and about a hundred others swam over and escaped; but his ill-success seized him with an excess of grief, and he fell sick and died. Others say that he was murdered by one of his own officers, named Áli Murdan.

The wars of Buktyár were not actually *great*; but the results derived from them were of considerable importance.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE WARS OF ALTÁMASH.

A.D. 1211 TO 1235.

ALTÁMASH was a Turkish slave purchased by Kuttubudeen Ibek for fifty thousand pieces of silver, and was afterwards married to his daughter. He mounted the throne of Delhi by defeating and displacing Arám, his master's son. He also defeated some of Kuttub's generals, who opposed him at the head of a strong portion of the Turkish horse, which formed the flower of the royal army.

After these successes Altámash directed his arms against Násirudeen Kabáchá, the governor of Scinde, who held the strong fort of Rántambhor, and was anxious to become independent. The ability of Násirudeen was, however, not equal to his aspirations, and he was therefore easily subdued, the entire country governed by him submitting to the victor. Uch and Mooltán were also quickly reduced, and all the country of the Sewálik hills.

In 1225, Altámash led his army towards Bengal and Behár, which were then held by Yeásaludeen Khiliji, who was called prince of Bengal. Altámash forced him to submit to his authority, and intrusting his son Násirudeen with the government of Bengal, left that of Behár in the hands of Yeásaludeen, both being made subordinate to the throne of Delhi. Soon after, war broke out between Násirudeen and Yeásaludeen, and, the latter being de-

feated, the government of both the provinces was assumed by Násirudeen.

In 1232, Altámash besieged the fort of Gwálíor, which in the reign of Arám had fallen into the hands of the Hindus, and was held by a chief named Deobal. The place was reduced after a siege of one year, and his way being thus opened, Altámash marched on towards Málwá, where he took the fort of Bhilsá and the city of Oujein. In Oujein he destroyed the magnificent temple of Mahácála, one of the twelve great Lingams worshipped in India; and the stone images both of Mahácála and Vikramáditya were sent to Delhi, and broken and placed at the threshold of the great mosque.

The reign of Altámash was contemporaneous with the age of Chingez Khán and the Tártár conquests. India was the only country that escaped the rage of Chingez. She was in imminent danger of being invaded by him when he ran in pursuit of Jeláludeen, king of Khárism, who was hunted down to the banks of the Indus. But Chingez did not pass that river, while Jeláludeen swam across it and fled towards Delhi.

The victories of Altámash brought all Hindustán, from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Ganges, under the sovereign rule of Delhi, though the obedience of a great portion of it was still merely nominal. They were appreciated even by the Kaliph of Bagdád, from whom Altámash received investiture in due form, which was the earliest recognition of the Indo-Mahomedan empire by the head of Islám.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WARS OF ÁLLÁUDEEN.

A.D. 1295 to 1316.

THE reign of Álláudeen was distinguished by many victories over the Hindus, and his name in history is recognised as that of the first Mahomedan subjugator of the Deccan. He arrogated to himself the title of Sekander Sáni, or Alexander II.; and there is no doubt that his conquests were extensive and great, partaking, however, mainly of the character of predatory incursions, in which nothing but plunder was really secured. No less than four invasions of Southern India were made during his reign; but the Mahomedan rule was not permanently established there till much later times.

The career of Álláudeen was commenced in 1292, when Jeláludeen Khiliji was yet on the throne. Állá, who was the emperor's nephew, son-in-law, and governor of Kurráh, requested his permission to march against the Hindus of Bhilsá, who infested his province, and, succeeding in the expedition, afforded much satisfaction to his sovereign by reason of the rich spoils he brought to him. Being hen-pecked at home Álláudeen naturally preferred a life of activity abroad, which carried him beyond the sphere of his wife's temper and influence. He therefore proposed again the reduction of Chinderi, from which great plunder was expected; and, on that pretext,

collected an army of eight thousand horse, with which he marched to the Deccan, the conquest of which had not yet been attempted. Rám Deo, rájá of Deogiri, was the first to oppose him, but was defeated with considerable loss, after which his capital was invested. Great uneasiness was, however, felt by both parties: by Állá from a knowledge of his weakness in numbers, which induced him to give out that the forces under him only formed the vanguard of the imperial army, the whole of which was advancing to support him; and by Rám Deo, from the conviction of his utter unpreparedness, and a belief in the emperor's proximity which boded nothing less than a general conquest of the Deccan. This made the combatants equally solicitous to come to terms; and a hasty peace was patched up and Állá bought off by the surrender of fifty maunds of gold, a large quantity of pearls and jewels, fifty elephants, and a thousand horse. Unfortunately, the son of Rám Deo had intermediately succeeded in collecting a large army, and, coming forward just when Állá was preparing to depart, he intercepted his retreat by an insolent letter in which he threatened him with immediate chastisement. The battle wished for by the prince was given to him. It was commenced by the Hindus with such violence that Állá began to fear for the result. But, at this moment, a detachment left by him before Deogiri, abandoning the siege, galloped to the field to assist him; and, the dust raised by the horsemen concealing their number, the Hindus imagined that the bulk of the emperor's army had at last arrived, and immediately took to their heels. The greatest cruelty was now perpetrated by the Mahomedans, the whole country being devastated by fire and sword. Peace was finally concluded on condition of the payment of six hundred maunds

of gold, seven maunds of pearls, two maunds of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, one thousand maunds of silver, four thousand pieces of silk, and other precious commodities. A bolder attack crowned with greater success is not to be met with even in the annals of Indian warfare.

His success raised the aspirations of Állá, and 'he returned to Delhi only to murder his sovereign and usurp the throne. He then hastened to get into his power the family of the murdered king, who made a stand at Mooltán, where they were defeated, which led to most of the members being put to death and the rest placed in confinement. But, notwithstanding all these pressing engagements to attend to, Állá was yet able simultaneously to defeat a Mogul army of one hundred thousand men in the neighbourhood of Láhorc.

The first great undertaking of Álláudeen's reign was the conquest of Guzerát, in 1297, the rájáh of that place having recovered his independence, on the withdrawal of the garrison left there by Mahomed Ghori, during the reign of his immediate successors. The enterprise was headed by Ulugh Khán, the brother of Állá, and Nusrat Khán, his vizier, who, with a large army, consisting of fourteen thousand cavalry, and twenty thousand infantry, soon succeeded in re-occupying the province, after which it was laid waste with fire and sword, while a large booty was carried off from it in gold, diamonds, pearls, rubies, and emeralds. The rájáh, Rái Karan, escaped to Deogiri for protection with Rám Deo; but his wives, children, and treasure fell into the hands of the Moslem, and the beauty of Cumlá Devi, his favourite wife, made such impression on the heart of Állá that he married her.

In 1298, the Moguls reinvaded India, and this for

some time continued to be the crying evil of Állá's reign. The enemy on the present occasion counted two hundred thousand horse, and were led by Kátlak Khojá, a son of Dáwá, or Dáood, king of Turkestán. Állá raised an army of three hundred thousand horse and two thousand and seven hundred elephants to repel them, and Ferishtá correctly remarks that from the time that the spears of Islám were first exalted in India, two such mighty armies had never joined in fight on its soil. The right wing of Állá's army was commanded by Záfár, a hero of great repute, the left by Ulugh Khán, and the centre by the king himself. The bravery and impetuosity of Záfár gained the victory; but he was not supported by either Ulugh Khán or Állá, both of whom equally envied his fame, and the consequence was that he was cut to pieces after a wonderful display of valour. Állá is said to have expressed greater pleasure at his death than for the victory that was obtained. The invaders, however, were actively pursued, which sufficed to carry them out of the country for the time.

In 1299, Állá sent Ulugh Khán and Nusrat Khán with a large army against the fort of Rántambhor, then held by Hámir Deo, a descendant of Prithu Rái of Delhi, by whom the assailants were repulsed and the vizier slain. This forced Állá himself to the field. On the way an attempt on his life was made by his nephew Akat, which was unsuccessful, Állá surviving the wounds he received. His attention was also distracted by conspiracies and revolts in Delhi and other places, all of which were put down. The siege of Rántambhor was then assumed, and, after sitting a whole year before the place, he succeeded in gaining access to it by a device. He collected together a large multitude of coolies, and provided each with a bag

which he had to fill up with earth; and these bags, being piled on each other over a wide base, formed an ascent to the top of the walls, by which means the fortress was entered and occupied. With his usual barbarity Állá put the prince, Hámir Deo, and his family and the garrison to the sword. Even the rájá's vizier, who had deserted over to him, was killed, Állá refusing to believe that a servant who had betrayed one master could be faithful to another.

In 1302, Állá sent an army, by an unexplored route through Orissá, to reduce the fort of Wárungh, the capital of Telingáná. The expedition, however, was not immediately successful, and the siege had to be prolonged. He, at the same time, marched personally to Cheetore, the chief fortress of Mewár, which had never yet been reduced. The Hindu accounts attribute this invasion to the beauty of Pudmani, the wife of Bheemsi, the Lord-Protector of Mewár, which had smitten the very susceptible heart of the king. Cheetore was taken after a siege of six months; and, Bheemsi being made a prisoner, Állá insisted on the surrender of his wife as the only price for his liberation. To this the adherents of Bheemsi affected to agree, and, proposing to send the lady and her retinue in covered litters, at once transported into Delhi the flower of their warriors—a devoted band, who liberated Bheemsi and covered his retreat with their lives. Állá reattacked Cheetore on a later day, and captured it; and, as Pudmani destroyed herself by *johur*, he avenged his disappointment in not obtaining her by the massacre of thirty thousand Hindus. He then made over the fort to one Máldeo, not considering it prudent to retain it in Moslem hands, as the Hindus were sure to contest perpetually for its possession.

The king's attention was next diverted by a fresh attack on Delhi by the Moguls, under the lead of Áli Beg Gurgun, and Tártak or Tárghi. They were opposed by Malik Káfur, Állá's favourite general, at the head of eighty thousand men. The contest was stubborn on both sides for a time, till some unaccountable cause created a panic among the Moguls and they fled, which Állá attributed to the intervention of a saint on his behalf. The invasions were repeated several times afterwards, under different leaders, named Kapak, Ikbál, and Mudásir, but were always repulsed by Állá's generals in the north, till the inhumanity of the king towards his prisoners impressed them with a salutary dread of him, which led to further thoughts of hostility being abandoned. An attack of India by a body of forty thousand Tártárs under Áli, one of the grandsons of Chingez Khán, was also defeated about this time; after which the attention of Állá was again turned southward, and two expeditions were sent out, one to Guzerát and the other to Málwá, both of which were equally successful. In Málwá, the cities of Oujein, Mándu, Daranágurhi, and Chinderi were taken; and, all revolt in Guzerát having been put down, the detachment sent to it proceeded thence towards the Deccan, to which a fresh expedition had been immediately despatched under Káfur, on the pretext that Rám Dro had failed to remit the tribute due from him. It was the fortune of this party to capture Dewal Devi, the daughter of Cumlá Devi and Rái Karan, with whom it returned at once to Delhi; and, as the girl was found to be exceedingly beautiful, she was married to Chizer, the eldest son of Álláudeen.

In the meantime Káfur went on subduing the country of the Mahrattás, and then laid siege to Deogiri; but, as

Rám Deo submitted, he was received into favour, and peace concluded with him on payment of rich presents. The army of Káfur then passed on, in 1309, to Telingáná, for the capture of the mud fort of Wárungul, which had held out all along to this time. It was now more strongly besieged and then carried by assault, after which the garrison was inhumanly murdered, which compelled Rájáh Laddar Deo to purchase peace by the surrender of three hundred elephants, seven thousand horses, and money and jewels to a large amount, and by agreeing to pay an annual tribute to the king.

The most distant expedition of Állá's reign was that undertaken by Káfur in 1310, when he marched against Bullál Deo, rájáh of the Cárnatic, and, after defeating him and taking him prisoner, ravaged the whole country down to Cape Comorin. Káfur found in the temples a prodigious spoil in idols of gold adorned with precious stones, and other rich effects consecrated to their worship. The plunder carried by him to Delhi is said to have amounted to some three hundred elephants, twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand maunds of gold, and several chests of jewels and pearls. Of Álláudeen's riches generally it is related that they surpassed the accumulations even of Máhmood of Ghazni.

The last expedition of Káfur to the Deccan was undertaken in 1312, when the rájáh of Deogiri was put to death and his country ravaged, while the tributes of Telingáná and the Cárnatic were raised. Hirpál Deo, the son of Rám Deo, afterwards avenged his death by stirring up the whole of the Deccan to arms, and captured a number of imperial garrisons; and, Állá dying in the interim, the independence of the Deccan, which he had so exerted to stamp out, was regained.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE EXPEDITION TO CHINA ACROSS THE HIMÁLAYÁS.

A.D. 1337 to 1339.

JONÁH, otherwise called Mahomed Toglek, was a merciless tyrant, but a brave and active prince. In his reign insurrections were frequent, most of which were suppressed with great vigour, albeit they were also punished with heartless severity. The only military expedition of the emperor that need be noticed in these pages is his attempted invasion of China, a mad idea which met with the discomfiture it merited.

The reputation of the great wealth of China first raised the wish of conquering that kingdom by marching to it across the Himálayá Mountains. To this end a preparatory expedition was undertaken in 1337, when an army of one hundred thousand men was sent under the command of Chusero, a nephew of Mahomed, to explore the country between India and China, and fix garrisons along the entire line, the emperor proposing to proceed afterwards in person, at the head of his whole army, to invade Peking. The great officers of the State endeavoured to dissuade him from a purpose so extravagant and strange; but he insisted on carrying out the idea, and the departure of Chusero was expedited. The mountains were entered and crossed under great privations, and small forts were built on the route ordered to be kept

open. Proceeding in this manner the boundaries of China were reached by an army greatly reduced in number and suffering the severest privations from scarcity and sickness; while they were confronted by a fresh and numerous army assembled to receive them. The dismay of the assailants at this sight knew no bounds. Their country was at a great distance behind them; the passes they had come by were almost impracticable and not easily to be retraced, while such as could be followed up were found to have been closed by the natives; and the rains were about to overtake them. In the face of these disadvantages they commenced their retreat; but the savage inhabitants of the mountains, no longer fearing them, fell upon them and plundered them of their baggage and provisions. The rain falling in torrents added to their difficulties, as the path, never easily practicable, now became perfectly impassable, particularly for horsemen, who found themselves up to the middle in water. In this dilemma, without anything almost to subsist upon, they lost the road, and within a space of fifteen days the entire army fell a prey to famine and disease. The Chinese troops scarcely stooped to molest them; it was unnecessary to do so: they simply stood by and saw them expire. Few out of the one hundred thousand men who started on the expedition, came back to tell the tale; such as did come back were of those who had been left behind to garrison the forts that were erected. The emperor, instead of pitying their condition, ordered all these to be put to death, as if they were responsible for the failure of his project. Thus ended the only attempt ever made from India to conquer China. A friendly intercourse with that country was always kept

up by land, in both the Hindu and Mahomedan periods ; and in the reign of Jonáh himself a splendid embassy arrived from China, in return for which Ibn Batutá, the celebrated traveller from Tangiers, was deputed by him to Peking.

CHAPTER XX.

THE INVASION OF TIMOUR.

A.D. 1397.

INDIA was invaded by Timour-lung, the conqueror of Bajázet, in 1397, his sole objects being to slay infidels and amass a large booty to replenish the empty treasury of Persia. His grandson, Pir Mahomed, preceded him and laid siege to Mooltán, while he himself took direct route from Kabool to Dinkote on the Indus. All the country between Mooltán and Láhore was sacked by the invaders with fire and sword. On the banks of the Chenáb the fortress of Tulámbi was taken, and the town of the same name pillaged on the pretext of seeking for grain. The fortress of Bhátnir was reached next, after crossing the Beyáh. It belonged to a Hindu prince named Rái Dulchánd, and was garrisoned by a party of Rájpoos who refused to submit. Dulchánd, being less resolute, surrendered himself; but, as his brother and his son still held out, his personal submission went for nothing, and, on the place being taken, all the inhabitants were put to the sword. On the banks of the Sutledge the armies of Timour and Pir Mahomed were united, at a place called Keitál, preparatory to their advance on Delhi; and at Páníput Timour ordered his soldiers to put on their fighting apparel. He crossed the Jumná

shortly after, that he might be better supplied with forage; and then attacked and took the fort of Lowni, the defenders of which were killed.

The army having encamped opposite to Delhi, Timour crossed over to reconnoitre the citadel. The smallness of his retinue emboldened the king, Máhmood III., to attack him; but the attack was repulsed, and Timour, returning to his camp, ordered the one hundred thousand prisoners he had captured since crossing the Indus to be put to death, which apprised India of the treatment she had to expect from him, and gained him the unenviable name of *Hillák Khán*, or the destroyer. The cause of this severity was the fear that the prisoners would naturally incline towards the people of Delhi, and probably join them if they had an opportunity to do so. The order was carried out with such alacrity by his followers that even one of the chief *moolláhs*, who had never slaughtered a sheep in his life, put fifteen Hindus to the sword.

The next move of Timour was to ford the river with his army, in which he was unopposed. He then encamped on the plains before that portion of the capital which went by the name of "the city of Feroze," intrenching his position by a ditch, which was strengthened by being stocked with buffaloes fronting the enemy. Four days after he marched out of his lines and drew up his army in order of battle. Máhmood, with the army of Delhi and one hundred and twenty elephants in mail, advanced to receive him. The Indian army was inferior in numbers, but was ably commanded by an intrepid vizier: the contest therefore was for a time desperately maintained. But the charge of Timour, at the head of a squadron called "the heroes of Chigháttá," having succeeded in

dismounting the Indian éléphant-drivers, soon turned in his favour the fortune of the day. The elephants, being no longer under control, ran backwards in terror, breaking the ranks they were intended to support ; and the veteran troops of Timour taking advantage of the confusion, pressed on with such vigour as forced their enemies to fly. The consternation of the fugitives was so great, that, not trusting to their walls, they fled all over the country in every direction, the king himself deserting the capital and flying to Guzerát, an example which was eagerly followed by all the higher officers of the State. The city was necessarily compelled to submit ; and Timour promised protection to the inhabitants, provided a large ransom was paid. He, at the same time, placed guards at the gates, and appointed the scribes of the city and the magistrates to regulate the contributions to be raised. At this time some one gave out that the *omráhs* and other rich men were garrisoning their houses with their dependants to evade payment of their shares ; and this, coming to the ears of Timour, he ordered a body of fifteen thousand soldiers to march on the city to enforce the authority of the magistrates. This they did with a vengeance ; their entrance into the capital was marked by plunder and outrage which their own officers could not restrain ; the streets were rendered impassable by heaps of the dead. Some of the Delhians endeavoured to defend themselves, but were soon worsted, and threw down their weapons in despair. The Hindus died in their usual fashion, by setting fire to their houses, after killing their wives and children ; the rest of the inhabitants were all put to the sword. Some historians mention that the order for pillage and massacre was given by Timour himself, on its being reported to him

that some of the citizens had resisted the collectors of the ransom on account of their violence. The character of Timour renders this highly probable; it is very unlikely that he should not have known what was being done within the city for five whole days. He entered Delhi after the massacre was all but completed, and then repaired to the mosque of Feroze to give thanks to Heaven for his victory! The architecture of the building particularly arrested his attention, upon which he ordered all further destruction of the city to be stayed. He also ordered the capture of all stone-cutters and masons, and their conveyance to Samarkand, to build for him a similar mosque in that place; and, after a residence of fifteen days in Delhi, he left it a heap of ruins.

On his way back Timour took the fortress of Meerut by assault, ravaged all the country as far as Gángotri, where the Ganges issues from the mountains, forced the rájáh of Jummo to become a Mussulman, and reduced Láhore—beheading the Gicker chief by whom it was held. He went back with his whole army, except a small detachment left at Delhi to secure it from further depredations; but his name was long held in such terror that, even after his death, Chizer, his viceroy in Mooltán and Láhore, found it an easy task to govern all India in succession to Máhmood, as the viceroy of Sháh Rokh, the son of the destroyer. The actual amount of plunder carried off by Timour from India is not stated, except in general terms. The variety of it is said to have been “infinite,” and the value “great, beyond imagination.” The most considerable articles were, as usual, gold and silver in plates, and an immense quantity of pearls and precious stones. The number of captives carried off was also very great.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CONQUEST OF INDIA BY BÁBER.

A.D. 1519 TO 1526.

THE tyranny of Ibráhim Lodi led to the conspiracy of his *omráhs* against him and the invitation of Báber, the king of Kabool, to the conquest of India. Báber was the sixth, or, as some count it, the eighth, successor to Timour-lung on the throne of Tartary, but was driven out of his heritage, the province of Ferghánaá, by Shubiáni, the king of the Uzbeks, upon which he took possession of Kabool, over which he reigned several years before any attempt on India was made.

Previous to the intrigues of the Indian nobles, Báber invaded the Punjáb, in 1519, claiming it as a part of the possessions of Timour; and, advancing as far as the Chenáb, conquered the whole country and placed a governor of his own over it, after which he proceeded to chastise the Gickers, and then went back to Kabool. In the latter end of the same year he re-entered India with the intention of taking Láhore, and built a fort at Peshawar; but he was again obliged to return to Kabool in consequence of an invasion of it by the king of Káshgar. In a third expedition to India, in 1520, he reached Seálkote, the inhabitants of which submitted to him and were taken into favour, while those of Sydepore,

having raised the standard of defence, were put to the sword, and their wives and children carried into captivity. On this occasion also, the further prosecution of his projects in India was prevented by a fresh attack on Kabool, which was this time invaded by Sháh Beg, the chief of Kandahár.

The fourth invasion of Báber, in 1524, was that undertaken at the request of the disaffected noblemen of India, who joined him. In this he conquered Láhore and other districts of the Punjáb, and then appointing governors to them returned to Kabool on being deserted by some of the chiefs who had sided with him. The staunchest adherent he left in India was Álláudeen, the brother of Ibráhim; and he gave orders to all his officers to join his cause and march with him to Delhi, promising to come personally to his assistance as soon as the affairs of Kabool were settled. The army which Állá was enabled to muster amounted to forty thousand men; but he was nevertheless defeated by Ibráhim and obliged to find refuge in Kabool, nor did Báber come back to India till 1526.

The army brought down by Báber in his fifth and last expedition, consisted of ten thousand horse. He advanced with it to Seálkote, where he was joined by most of his Indian adherents. Aided by these he defeated Dowlut Lodi, one of the *omráhs* who had first invited and then deserted him, and reduced the fort of Milwit where the traitor had taken shelter. The governor of Hissár, Firozá, was at the same time defeated by his son Humáyun, while the vanguard of Ibráhim's army was repulsed by one of his generals named Timour. By the time the two grand-armies neared each other the entire force under Ibráhim consisted of fifty thousand horse and one thousand elephants, while that under Báber amounted to twenty-

four thousand horse only. An advance-party of five thousand horse sent forward by the latter having been forced to retire, Ibráhim was emboldened to risk a general action, and marched for that purpose to Pániput, where Báber also proceeded to encounter him. When the opposing forces came in sight of each other Báber divided his troops into two lines and four grand-divisions, with a body of reserve in the rear of each, and a few light horse to skirmish in front. Ibráhim, being less conversant with the art of war, was not able to systematise his arrangements with equal skill, and only drew up his forces in one general line of unequal depth, with which he charged the enemy. But the loose attack of the Pátháns made no impression on the compact lines of the Moguls, while the reserve force of the latter wheeling round surrounded the Pátháns and speedily cut them to pieces. Ibráhim moved forward to remedy the mistake, and being followed by the flower of his army gave a violent shock to the Mogul lines. But the personal bravery of the Moguls was not inferior to their discipline, and they maintained their ground with the greatest obstinacy, till Ibráhim himself was slain, when the whole of the Páthán army fell back and were pursued with great slaughter, dyeing the course of the Jumná with blood. The battle began in the morning and lasted till noon; and, according to the most moderate account, sixteen thousand Pátháns were killed. By this defeat the throne of India was transferred from the house of Lodi to that of the Moguls. The cities of Ágrá and Delhi were simultaneously taken. In other places some show of opposition was made, especially in Mewát, Dholepore, Gwálior, Atáná, Kalpee, and Bianá, all of which, however, were eventually reduced. The resistance thus encountered alarmed some of Báber's

own officers, who clamoured for his return to Kabool ; but he refused to comply with their demand, expressing his fixed determination to abide in India, while those who wanted to go back were sent away. Thus was the Mogul dynasty founded in India.

CHAPTER XXII.

BÁBER'S WARS WITH THE HINDUS.

A.D. 1527 TO 1530.

HAVING triumphed over the Mahomedans in India, Báber found that he had to fight the Hindus before he could expect to reign in peace, and took up the task after a year's possession of Delhi. Of the Hindu races the Rájpoos had been the most prominent at the time when the Mahomedans first invaded India, and, on being forced to recede before them, they established themselves finally on the table-land in the centre of Hindustán and the sandy tract extending thence to the Indus, where they long maintained their independence. The most important of the States thus founded were those of Mewár, Márwár, Bikáneer, Jesulmere, Jeypore, and Herowti. Of these Mewár was the chief, and was held at this time by Ráná Sanga, a warrior of great name. Being naturally an enemy to the king of Delhi, Sanga had sided with Báber on his invading India to overthrow the house of Lodi; but, on Báber succeeding to the throne of Delhi, Sanga veered round and became as inimical to him as he had ever been to his predecessor, and, allying himself with other Hindu princes and with the fallen house of Lodi and its adherents, raised up a not-unformidable opposition.

The first encounter between Báber and the Hindus

took place at Kánná, at a short distance from Ágrá, where the advance-guard of the Mogul army, being attacked by a party of Hindus, was, after a sharp conflict, defeated with great loss, which struck such terror among the Mahomedans that, in a council of war convened by Báber, a large number of the officers present seriously recommended the abandonment of Ágrá and retreat to the Punjáb. This, however, was resolutely opposed by Báber, who, used to reverses, met the check without dismay; and, despising the predictions of an astrologer, who foretold further defeat to his army because it had taken up a position opposite to the house of Mars, strongly appealed to the honour of the chiefs to stand fast and retrieve their disgrace. The exhortation was successful, the whole assembly responding to his appeal with enthusiasm and swearing on the Korán to support him faithfully; upon which Báber, deciding to strike while the iron was hot, brought matters to an immediate crisis by drawing up his forces on the field of Sikri (Futtehpore Sikri), near the banks of the Peelakhál, or Yellow River, where he offered battle to the enemy. The offer was promptly accepted by the Hindus, and great slaughter was caused by their furious onslaughts at the outset. But the artillery of Báber was too strong to be resisted, and, after an obstinate struggle of several hours, the centre of Sanga's army was much shaken, the confusion being completed towards the evening, when nothing remained for the Rájputs but to fly. Sanga retreated towards the hills of Mewát, and soon after died, not without suspicion of being poisoned. Of the other great chiefs under him many, including Hássan Khán of Mewát, were slain. After this victory the fortress of Mewát was reduced, and the authority of Báber established all over Hindu-

stán Proper, with the exception of Oude. The fortress of Chinderi, on the borders of Bundelkund and Málwá, was also taken, the garrison dying sword in hand and leaving an empty building behind them. Báber succeeded likewise in reducing the whole of South Behár, and in bringing the king of Bengal to terms of peace; when he suddenly fell ill, which brought his long, chequered life to a close.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE WARS OF HUMÁYUN WITH SHERE SHÁH.

A.D. 1535 TO 1542.

HUMÁYUN, the son of Báber, succeeded to an uneasy throne. The rebellion of his brothers, Kámrán and Hindal, was his first great misfortune, which gave occasion to many others by encouraging all the disaffected to rise up against him. Of these revolts the most unfortunate was that of Shere Sháh, who had originally been employed as *zygheredár* of Sasserám. From this position Shere had gradually risen to that of a provincial lieutenant, by making himself master of Behár and of the strong fortresses of Chunár and Rhotás; and, aiming at higher elevation, he had eventually invaded Bengal. Humáyun saw through his designs, but was obliged to temporise for a time and accept the nominal submission of Shere, both on account of his own family-quarrels and the many insurrections which disturbed his reign. But the moment he found his hands free he marched against Chunár personally, in 1538, and reduced it after a siege of six months; and he thence pursued Shere to Gour, the capital of Bengal. He was here overtaken by the rains, and the whole country being soon placed under water, it became impossible to continue operations further for the time. This gave Shere the opportunity to open negotiations, not really with the purpose of concluding a

peace, but with the perfidious object of establishing a free intercourse between the two armies. The consequence was that, when the rains were over, the followers of Humáyun began to desert him in numbers, which enabled Shere to issue from his retreat. He promptly recovered possession of Behár and Benáres, including the fortress of Chunár; and then, after laying siege to Juánpore, pushed up the Ganges as far as Kanouj. The position of Humáyun now became exceedingly difficult, and, finding his communication with his capital cut off, he determined to force his way to Ágrá, and set out on his retreat. But he was not allowed to extricate himself so easily, for Shere at once raised the siege of Juánpore to intercept him. The Mogul army was still about forty thousand strong, while that of Shere numbered ten thousand men only; no direct attack on the former was therefore attempted. Shere knew well how to profit by delay, and remained intrenched at a place called Chowsá, in such a manner that he could neither be passed nor attacked with success. Humáyun was obliged to follow the example, and, intrenching himself, began to collect boats for forming a bridge to cross the Ganges. But Shere, being determined to foil him, abandoned his own post, leaving his camp standing and occupied by a small force to conceal his movement, and, gaining the rear of Humáyun's position at night, suddenly attacked him. The emperor was completely taken by surprise. No gun was fired, nor any party—friend or foe—wounded. The Moguls simply fled for safety towards the river, in which eight thousand of them were drowned, Humáyun himself being saved mainly by the exertions of a water-carrier, who ferried him over with the aid of his *moosuk*, or skin-bladder.

After this, Humáyun was delayed at Ágrá on account of fresh disputes with his brother Hindal, which were no sooner arranged than he advanced, in 1540—again at the head of about forty thousand men—towards Kanouj, Shere Sháh having taken up his position there at the head of fifteen thousand men. Here the emperor was deserted by one of his generals named Mahomed Mirzá, which induced him to move out of camp and bring the contest to an issue. He, accordingly, crossed the Ganges by a bridge of boats, when Shere coming up attacked him. The army of Humáyun was a second time entirely defeated almost without a fight, and driven, as before, into the Ganges, Humáyun being once more extricated with great difficulty. He now attempted to fly, and proceeded to Kámrán at Láhore; but Kámrán deserted him and retired to Kabool, leaving Humáyun to shift for himself. The abandoned monarch then turned towards Scinde, and afterwards towards Jodpore, for shelter; but few kept faith with him, none was willing to receive him. The province of Scinde was held by Hossein Arghun, whose family had been driven out of Kandahár by Báber; and he rose up to avenge that outrage on Báber's son. The chief of Jodpore was Máldeo, the most potent Hindu prince of the day, who had no call to succour the emperor of Delhi in his distress. The tale of Humáyun's sufferings would make a romance of kingly life of unequalled interest. He was obliged to prosecute his flight through the sandy desert, till after unheard-of sufferings he found refuge at Amerkote, the rájáh of which, Ráná Prasád, took compassion on his misfortunes, and received him with hospitality and respect. Eventually, he retired to the court of Támásp, the king of Persia, where he remained in peace throughout the reigns of Shere Sháh and Selim.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SHERE'S WARS IN RÁJPOOTÁNÁ.

A.D. 1542 to 1545.

AFTER the flight of Humáyun to Persia, Shere, assuming the imperial title, exerted himself greatly in reducing the distracted provinces of the empire, and fully succeeded in doing so. All the enterprises undertaken by him will not require to be noticed. We shall only refer to those in Rájpootáná as being of especial importance.

The first efforts of Shere were directed against Málwá, which was invaded and subdued in 1542. In the following year the fort of Rasein was besieged, and the garrison of it deceitfully attacked after the terms of capitulation offered to them had been accepted. The treachery was repaid by the Rájpoots with great valour. They sold their lives so dearly that they fell surrounded by twice the number of their enemies.

These preparatory engagements over, Shere marched into Márwár, in 1544, so that Máldeo gained no advantage with him for having acted inhospitably towards Humáyun. In fact, Shere felt the power of Máldeo to be too great to be left untouched ; and he took with him an army of eighty thousand men to subdue him. Máldeo received him at the head of fifty thousand men ; and the judgment and caution he evinced in his movements was

so great that Shere was obliged to fortify his camp at every step, and, instead of obtaining an easy conquest, as he had expected, began to repent having entered the country from which he found it impossible to recede. There was no way left for him to turn back; and so the opposing armies lay for thirty days in sight of and watching each other. Shere did not venture to attack Máldeo, because the position occupied by the latter was deemed to be impregnable. To get out of his difficulty he had recourse to treachery and deceit, his usual practice when hard pressed. He fabricated a letter purporting to be written to him by several of the rájáhs fighting on the side of Máldeo, in which they were represented as complaining of his tyranny, and as offering to desert over to Shere if he would confirm them in their existing rights and privileges. This paper he superscribed in Persian, expressing his acceptance of their terms, and then threw it in the way of Máldeo, who, being in dread of his chiefs, fell into the snare. The perusal of the document made such an impression on him that he declined the battle he had before been anxious for; and his worst suspicions were confirmed when he found the rájáhs particularly eager for the fight. On the fourth day he ordered a retreat; when the rájáhs, having become acquainted with the trick practised on him, remonstrated with him and twitted him about it. Finding him still suspicious and doubtful they separated from him, and, to vindicate their own good name, gave battle to Shere by themselves, placing one of their own number, Koombha, or Kánáyá, at their head. The Rájpoots were only ten or twelve thousand strong, Shere's army being about eight times stronger; and yet this handful of warriors fought so recklessly with their daggers and short-swords that Shere

was all but defeated, when he was reinforced by a fresh detachment under Jelál Selwáni. With this timely succour he was able to rally his men and surround the wearied Rájpoos, who were now assailed from all sides by showers of arrows. They fell where they fought, not even one man attempting to leave his post ; and Shere, obtaining the victory, passed on them the well-merited compliment that "for a handful of barley (meaning their unproductive country) he had well-nigh given the empire of India to the winds."

After this bloody victory the fortress of Chectore surrendered to Shere by capitulation. He then occupied the district of Rántambhor, which he gave in *gyghere* to his son Ádili, and next marched against Kalinjar, before which he was killed by the bursting of a shell at the siege.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE RECONQUEST OF INDIA BY HUMÁYUN.

A.D. 1553 TO 1554.

HUMÁYUN, being assisted by Tamásp, was able to drive out his rebellious brothers from Kabool, Kandahár, and Badukshán, and reigned over those places till the death of Selim, the son of Shere Sháh, in India. On Selim's death the Pátháns became involved in a civil war waged between the several aspirants to the throne, and Humáyun determined to avail himself of the opportunity to recover his patrimony. It was with great difficulty, however, that he was able to collect an army of fifteen thousand horse, with which he approached Peshawar, in 1553, being there joined by his general, Byrám, with all the veterans of the Kabool army. On hearing of his approach Tátár, the Páthán governor of the Punjáb, fled to Delhi, upon which Láhore, Sirhind, and Hissár were at once occupied. Sekander, who finally succeeded Selim, now got together an army of some thirty or forty thousand horse from Delhi, under the command of Tátár and Hybut, to oppose Humáyun; but Byrám, crossing the Sutledge, gave these battle at Machiwárá, and defeated them. Sekander then advanced personally to meet the invaders at the head of eighty thousand horse, a great train of artillery, and a number of elephants; and, simul-

taneously, Byráṁ was joined by Humáyūn. Both Humáyūn and his general preferred at first to shut themselves up in Sirhind and await the result of a siege ; but, when the Páthán army drew up in fighting order, the impetuosity of Akbar, Humáyūn's son, then only thirteen years old, could not be restrained ; and he obtained his father's consent to give battle to the enemy. Byráṁ commanded the right wing of the army, Sekander Uzbek the left, and Humáyūn himself the centre. The left wing having charged, Akbar, who had joined it, distinguished himself greatly by acts of personal valour. His efforts were ably seconded both by his father and by Byráṁ ; and Sekander Sháh's army was routed with great slaughter, while he himself fled, first in the direction of the Sewálik mountains, and afterwards to Bengal. Thus was the throne of India regained by Humáyūn.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE WARS OF AKBAR.

A.D. 1556 TO 1604.

THE reign of Akbar furnishes one of the most brilliant and eventful chapters of Indian history ; but the task we have set to ourselves confines us entirely to the wars that were waged by him. At the very commencement of his reign he had to fight with Hému—a valiant Hindu warrior, prime-minister to Mahomed Ádili, the Páthán emperor of India—who took Ágrá on behalf of his master at the head of thirty thousand horse and two thousand elephants, and then marching on to Delhi defeated Tirdi Beg whom Akbar had left there in command. By this time Hému's army had increased to one hundred thousand horse, besides elephants and infantry, and a great train of artillery, while that of Akbar scarcely exceeded twenty thousand horse. Nevertheless, neither Akbar nor his minister, Byrán, would agree to retire before the enemy when it was proposed by some *omráhs* of the court that they should do so. The young king panted for battle, and, his enthusiasm being shared in by his army, the result was an engagement at Pánipt. Hému began the action with his elephants, in the hope of being able to frighten the Mogul cavalry, which anticipation however was not realised. The attack of the

Moguls was resolute, and the elephants, being galled with lances, arrows, and javelins, became so outrageous as to cause the greatest confusion in the Páthán ranks. Hému was pierced through the eye, but still continued to fight with desperate bravery, till he was surrounded and made prisoner. Byrám was desirous that Akbar should kill him with his own hands ; but the young emperor refused to strike a fallen enemy, upon which he was despatched by the minister himself. Fifteen hundred elephants and all the artillery of the enemy were captured, together with the vast private wealth of Hému ; and every opposition being ended Akbar seized upon Delhi, and was a second time crowned emperor in it.

The first war undertaken by Akbar on being firmly seated on the throne was the conquest of the country of the Gickers, which lay on the banks of the Indus, from the Sewálik hills to the borders of Cashmere. These mountaineers owned allegiance to Báber on his conquest of India, and after that time remained faithful to the dynasty, refusing to submit to Shere. Shere thereupon ordered the Gicker chief, Sárung Sultán, who had been captured, to be flayed alive, and shut up his son, Kamal, in the fort of Gwálíor. On the restoration of Humáyun to the throne, Kamal prayed to be restored to his paternal inheritance, which at that time was held by one Adam Khán Gicker. The imperial order directed the division of the territory into two equal parts between the two claimants ; but, as Adam Khán did not agree to this arrangement, a royal army marched into the country and conquered it, and made over the whole of it to Kamal.

The next military event of importance was the conquest of Gurráh Katanka, or Gurráh Mundala, which was ruled

over by a Hindu princess, named Doorgavati, who opposed the imperial general, Ásaph, in person. Ásaph's army amounted to fifty thousand horse and foot, while the ránee had only twenty thousand horse and foot, besides a large number of elephants. The battle between them was fought before the fort of Chaurágurh, and was obstinately contested on both sides. At last the ránee was wounded by an arrow, and, fearing to fall into the hands of the enemy, she snatched a dagger from her elephant-driver and stabbed herself to death. This decided the contest. Some further resistance was offered by the ránee's son; but he was soon killed, upon which the fort was captured with all the treasure in it, and the whole country occupied.

After these events, Akbar had to encounter the rebellions of the Uzbek Tartars and others, which gave him much trouble. When these were quelled, he determined to proceed in person against the Ráná of Cheetore, who had taken advantage of the unsettled state of the country to declare his independence. Akbar appeared before Cheetore in 1568, upon which the Ráná—Udaya Sing, son of Sanga—retreated from the place, leaving a garrison of eight thousand Rájputs to hold it on his behalf, while he with his family sought refuge in the more inaccessible retreats of Guzerát. The absence of the chief was more than counterbalanced by the valour of his deputy, Jeimál, who defended the fortress with great circumspection and vigour. Akbar investing it, set five thousand pioneers to throw up trenches, and carried on his approaches with equal caution and regularity. When he had completed two batteries and carried two mines under different bastions he endeavoured to spring them at once; but one of them going off before the other, it

blew up one of the bastions and made a practicable breach. Two thousand men, who were ready to storm the place, now advanced under the belief that both the mines had been sprung; and the second mine blowing up at this juncture, five hundred of these were killed, which so dispirited the rest that they fell back from the breach. Another mine was, however, fired immediately after, and Jeimál being at the same time killed by a ball, said to have been discharged by Akbar himself, the imperial army entered the fortress without opposition, just after the garrison had devoted themselves to death and retired to the temples to offer their last religious services. Akbar entered the place with three hundred elephants of war, which he ordered to advance and tread the garrison to death; and this order was brutally carried out, three thousand men being slain. The rest of the Rájpoos were taken prisoners: a few only escaped with their lives.

Notwithstanding the loss of his capital, Ráná Udaya Sing still lived independent in his native fastnesses; but he was himself of a feeble character, and gave Akbar no further trouble. After his death the gauntlet was taken up by his son Pratápa, a hero worthy to emulate the achievements of his grandsire Sanga. Without capital, without resources, with kindred and clans dispirited and impoverished, he maintained an unavailing struggle with the emperor of Delhi, suffering the greatest privations, and, what was harder still to endure, the bad faith of his relatives and friends. Akbar, backed by all the Rájpoos princes who had intermediately joined him, took the field in person against Pratápa, who had nothing to trust to but his wild hills and the valour of twenty-two thousand Rájpoos who yet adhered to him. The greatest of his

battles was fought at Huldighát, in 1576, when he was opposed by Prince Selim under the direction of Rájáh Mán Sing. The most heroic bravery could not withstand the numbers that swelled the imperial army, and the result of the engagement was that fourteen thousand Rájpoos were slain, while Pratápa, wounded and dismounted, was obliged to save himself by flight on foot. The defeat was followed by the capture of Komulmere, Dhurmeti, Gogoondá, and Udayapore by the Moguls, after which Pratápa was hunted from glen to glen, like the doe or tiger, and was saved only by the approach of the rains. But he still held out even to the last, and died amidst the greatest privations, forcing a pledge from his son Umur, that his country would not be quietly yielded up to the Moguls. This pledge Umur fulfilled to the letter, defeating the imperial armies signally at Demier and Ranpore. But it was no longer possible to save Mewár from the clutch of the invaders, and when Selim (as Jehángire) brought overwhelming armies against it to crush out its freedom for ever, Umur, defeated and heart-broken, abdicated that throne which he could no longer hold but as a dependant.

The conquest of Cheetore by Akbar was followed by the occupation of the fortress of Rántambhor, in 1569, on the plea that the chief, Rái Surjan, had given assistance to Udaya Sing during the siege of Cheetore. The place was regularly invested, and batteries raised to reduce it; but Surjan agreeing to accept terms, it was occupied without bloodshed after some breaches had been made. Then followed the capture of Kalinjar, the fortress before which Shere had lost his life. The renown of the conquest of Cheetore and Rántambhor made the work so easy that Rájáh Rámchandra, the

chief in charge of the place, prudently sent the keys of it to Akbar by his own envoy, preferring to hold it under an imperial firmán than maintain a useless and unprofitable contest. Akbar also invaded Márwár, in 1571, and, to requite the repulse his parents had received from Jodpore, successively took the fortresses of Málákote and Ná gore after sanguinary conflicts, while a formal grant of Jodpore was made to Rái Sing, a junior member of Máldeo's family, who was left to fight for its possession with Máldeo. But Rái Sing never obtained possession; and, after Máldeo's death, his son, submitting to the emperor, was treated with the greatest favour and distinction.

An affair of greater magnitude, in which Akbar was involved from 1572, was the campaign in Guzerát, where the *Hábshis*, or Abyssinians, defied the imperial power, particularly in Brouch, Barodá, and Surát. The fortress of Surát, which was the home and stronghold of the *Hábshis*, was invested by the emperor in person, and one of the rebel chiefs, named Ibráhim Hossein, attempting to escape, was attacked and defeated by him at Sarnál, at the head of barely a hundred men. The siege being continued, Surát was also taken; and several attempts made by the *Hábshis* to regain it only resulted in their final defeat and the complete conquest of Guzerát.

The next great enterprise of Akbar was the conquest of Bengal, which was undertaken in 1575. This province, having revolted from Mahomed Ádili, had become virtually independent, and was now ruled over by a prince named Dáood. Akbar attacked it at the head of five thousand horse and six hundred elephants, and, laying siege to Pátná, reduced it after six months. He then

left it to his lieutenants to pursue the conquest, while he himself returned to Ágrá, after having captured Alláhábád on the way. The lieutenants of the emperor, however, did not find the reduction of Bengal so easy as they had expected it. Dáood twice encountered and defeated them. He was subsequently defeated by Rájáh Torur Mul, and, being pressed hard, had to seek safety in Orissá; but, on the death of Torur Mul, he appeared again to renew the war: and Bengal was not completely subdued till Dáood was defeated and slain. The Afghán settlers in it revolted afresh in 1579, and had to be again reduced, once by Ázim Khán, and a second time by Rájáh Mán Sing, who finally came to a settlement with them by which they were allowed to retain Orissá in nominal dependence to the empire.

Akbar next made himself master of the valley of Cashmere. There was no pretext for the war undertaken against this kingdom; the hopes of the emperor were only excited by the distractions prevailing among the princes who reigned over it. The first detachment sent to occupy it, in 1586, was commanded by a general named Sháh Rokh. It was followed by another detachment despatched under Rájáh Bhugwándás. The great obstacles encountered by both were the difficulties and dangers of the mountain-passes giving access to the country, which were not overcome till further reinforcements were sent. Every opposition being eventually surmounted, the king of Cashmere submitted to the imperial power, and was enrolled among the nobles of Delhi.

The next operations of Akbar were directed against the Afgháns inhabiting the hill-countries in the immediate neighbourhood of Peshawar. These were very

troublesome neighbours, not only to Peshawar, but to the imperial governor at Kabool, and displayed a fanatical spirit which Akbar was anxious to put down. Two expeditions had previously been sent against them. The first of these consisted of two detachments which were respectively commanded by Zean Khán, the foster-brother of the emperor, and Rájáh Birbal. But 'the chiefs did not pull well together, and, operating separately, were defeated, Birbal being slain. Fresh expeditions were sent up under Rájáhs Torur Mul and Mán Sing, who, working cordially, took up and fortified positions in different parts of the country, from which they were able to prevent the Afgháns from cultivating their plains. This soon reduced the mountaineers to terms; but, while one sect was subdued, another still remained intractable. The last combined attack on them was undertaken in 1587, led from the direction of Kabool by Rájáh Mán Sing, and from the banks of the Indus by Akbar in person, upon which they were completely defeated, though even then no permanent results guaranteeing their future good behaviour were obtained.

The concluding part of Akbar's reign was almost wholly employed in the completion of his favourite project, the conquest of the Deccan. The main divisions of the Deccan at this period were: Beejáporé, Golcondá, Berár, Áhmednugger, and Áhmedábád, in all of which independent sovereignties had been established by different Mahomedan adventurers, from different dates. Akbar was anxious to subjugate all these, and bring them under imperial control; and the death of Nizám Sháh, the king of Áhmednugger, in 1592, gave him the wished-for opportunity to interfere. A large army was sent to Áhmednugger, under Byrá'm's son, who was

called the Khán-Khánán, to operate in favour of a claimant to the throne, and against the rightful heir; the latter being a minor, whose cause was upheld by Chánd Bibi, the daughter of the deceased king, and the most favourite Mahomedan heroine of the Deccan. The kings of Beejápore and Golcondá made common cause with and sent troops to support the second party; while the Mogul commander was strengthened by fresh forces sent to him under Murád, one of the sons of Akbar. Áhmednugger was now regularly beset; but the mines laid by the assailants were rendered useless by the countermines of the besieged, and, when a breach in one place was effected, the assault of the Moguls was defeated by the determined resistance of the garrison, with the heroic Chánd Bibi fighting in full uniform at their head. This led to an agreement of peace; but, as violent internal dissensions broke out in the city immediately after, the Moguls were emboldened to risk a general engagement, which was fought for two days on the banks of the Godávery. The victory was claimed by the Moguls, but it did not secure the conquest of the country; and army after army continued to be sent to the field from both sides, which were alternately triumphant and unsuccessful. At last Akbar went to the place in person, in 1598, and, Chánd Bibi being at the same time killed by the faction opposed to her in Áhmednugger, Báhádur Khán, the minor king, was induced to surrender the fortress to the emperor, while others say it was carried by assault, after which the minor was sent a prisoner to Gwálíor. Even the fall of the capital, however, did not produce the submission of the whole country. It was succeeded by the capture of Áseergurh, after which Akbar returned to Ágrá, leaving the completion of the enterprise in the

hands of Ábul Fázl. The whole of the Deccan was never reduced in Akbar's time ; but an extensive portion of it was added to the empire, and a vast amount of tribute swelled up the rent-roll.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE REBELLION OF SHÁH JEHÁN.

A.D. 1615 to 1628.

THE reign of Jehángire was undisturbed by any foreign wars of importance, but was much distracted by the rebellion of his sons, and mainly by that of Sháh Jehán. The first to break out was Chusero, the eldest, who unfurled the standard of opposition within six months after his father's accession to the throne, and was supported in his misbehaviour by his maternal uncle Rájáh Mán Sing, and his father-in-law Ázim Khán, in conjunction with whom he was able to raise an army of ten thousand horse in the Punjáb. But this did not render him strong enough to withstand the imperial army. The city of Láhore was betrayed to him, and he was making an ineffectual attempt to reduce the citadel, when he was overtaken by Jehángire and totally defeated; and, being captured, was placed in confinement and partially blinded. Purvez, the emperor's second son, now became his favourite, and continued to hold that position till Jehángire's marriage with Noor Jehán, after which all the family affections of the emperor were merged in his ardent passion for that lady, which naturally made both Purvez and Sháh Jehán excessively indignant. Unfortunately, the brothers were at the same time objects of

the greatest jealousy to each other, and this feeling was converted into hatred when Sháh Jehán, on account of his superior abilities, was selected for the command of the Deccan, and invested with vice-regal powers.

At the very moment that Sháh Jehán was thus elevated he determined to clear his way of all obstacles to the throne; and, as Chusero still lived, he was first destined to destruction. His murder was accomplished with the aid of hired assassins, Sháh Jehán going off at the time on a hunting expedition to divert suspicion. He was, nevertheless, openly accused of the crime by Jehángire, whose expressions of resentment compelled him to throw off the mask and seek safety in overt rebellion. He accordingly collected a large army, which his position as commander-in-chief in the Deccan enabled him easily to accomplish; and he marched with it towards Ágrá, with the intention of capturing the treasures of the empire then under transmission to Láhore. Jehángire was no sooner apprised of this than he called together all the forces immediately available to him, amounting to forty thousand horse, with which he hastened to meet the rebel prince. The two armies confronted each other for some days at Belochpore, forty miles to the south of Delhi, in hourly expectation of battle. This gave Sháh Jehán an opportunity to represent his grievances to his father, his complaint being of the intrigues of his step-mother Noor Jehán, to his prejudice, which necessitated him, he said, to demand securities for his protection. The representation exasperated Jehángire still more against him; but Sháh Jehán gained the object he had in view in advancing it, as it strengthened the attachment of his followers by vindicating his conduct and lessening his crime in their eyes. In the meantime the emperor was

joined by Mohábet Khán from Kabool, and Khán Jehán from Mooltán, and was thus enabled to offer battle on equal terms. The army of Sháh Jehán was marshalled by Rájáh Bikramjeet (Vikramáditya) who commanded the centre, while Rájáh Bheem commanded on the right, and Daráb Khán on the left. The imperialists were led on in chief by Ásaph Khán, who occupied the centre, while Mohábet had charge of the right wing, and Nawázez Khán of the left. The action was begun by the advance-guards on both sides, and when those of Sháh Jehán were defeated, Ásaph Khán pressed forward to attack the position of Bikramjeet. Both Bikramjeet and Ásaph Khán fought with great heroism, till the former fell pierced through the head by an arrow, upon which the centre of the rebel army was broken and fled, while Mohábet at the same time drove off its left wing from the field. The ground was still maintained on Sháh Jehán's side by Rájáh Bheem, who succeeded in driving Nawázez Khán before him; and this led both parties to claim the victory. But the consequences of the engagement were mostly adverse to Sháh Jehán, and all his attempts to renew the fight were defeated by the opposition of his own men, who, seized by panic, refused to listen to his exhortations. This compelled him to fly towards Mewát, whither he was followed by his implacable brother Purvez, at the head of a large army. A second engagement was fought at Mándu, in which Sháh Jehán sustained a second defeat, after which he precipitately entered the Deccan, a great portion of his forces deserting him on the way.

But Sháh Jehán was only defeated, not subdued. Crossing through the dreary borders of Golcondá he forced a passage through Orissá into Bengal, where he

successfully took possession of Burdwán, Rájmahal, and the fortress of Telliágurhi, the last of which was defended by European gunners and engineers. He then entered Pátná, where he found a large amount of treasure, and, after leaving his family at Rhotás, diverged in the direction of Dáccá, where still greater heaps of gold and silver were secured. All Bengal now received him as its sovereign; but his ambition refused to rest contented with an empire so small. He put himself again in motion in the direction of Benáres and Alláhábád, to the relief of which latter place Purvez and Mohábet Khán advanced rapidly at the head of fifty thousand horse. Sháh Jehán crossed the Ganges to meet them though his army was less strong, counting no more than forty thousand horse. He had a further disadvantage in the people of the country refusing to furnish him with supplies; but he hoped to make everything right by a great victory. His expectations were disappointed. The engagement took place on the banks of a little brook called Tonish. The advance-guard of Sháh Jehán was again the first to give way, and Rájáh Bheem, who commanded it, after having fought with much bravery, was slain. Mohábet then attacked the centre of the rebel army with great fury, and the shock was so violent that Sháh Jehán was driven from his guns. For a moment Suchait Khán was able to help him to rally his broken squadrons, but they were both defeated a second time and driven back in confusion. Sháh Jehán then formed the desperate resolution of plunging into the thickest of the fight with only five hundred men at his back, and gave even Mohábet a check which compelled him to retire. But the prince was not supported by his followers. His officers, considering the battle to be lost, absolutely refused to advance; and he

was eventually forced away from the field by his own men, who carried him to Rhotás, the rich plunder of his camp putting a stop to immediate pursuit.

Purvez and Mohábet then hunted Sháh Jehán from place to place, and Bengal, Behár, and Orissá fell as easily into their hands as they had fallen before into those of Sháh Jehán. The latter now attempted to form an alliance with the Portuguese, the most powerful European nation in India at this time; but they refused to assist him, and even went so far as to reproach him for demanding their aid against his own parent and sovereign. Sháh Jehán was sensible of the reproof, and therefore never forgave it; at a later date he drove them out of every settlement they occupied in India. Reduced to great extremities Sháh Jehán was at last able to form an alliance with the Rájáh of Ambere, and took shelter in the mountains of Bálághát. His followers now fell off in considerable numbers, and his own spirit was broken and subdued. He hastened, therefore, to make peace with his father, who accepted his submission on the forts still held on his behalf—among which were Rhotás in Behár and Áseergurh in the Deccan—being surrendered. Sháh Jehán never came back to Court in person, though he sent his children, Dárá and Soojá, as pledges of his fidelity. He was either ashamed to come in the presence of a father whom he had so ill-used, or afraid to venture within the pale of Noor Jehán's influence; and he roved about as a knight-errant, with five hundred men at his back, from the Indus to the Deccan.

At a subsequent period Sháh Jehán was once more in arms in the Deccan; but, not being supported by the adherents he had expected, he yielded almost immediately after without the interposition of force. The emperor

died a short time after, and, Purvez having intermediately been carried off by an apoplexy, Dáwir Buksh, the son of Chusero, was made to succeed him. But Sháh Jehán, being joined by Ásaph Khán and Mohábet, was now fully able to assert his rights, and, coming up from the Deccan, deposed and murdered the young prince, and ascended the throne.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE REBELLION OF KHÁN JEHÁN LODI.

A.D. 1632.

ONE of the most remarkable episodes of the reign of Sháh Jehán was the rebellion of Khán Jehán Lodi, a nobleman descended from the imperial family of Lodi, which had occupied the throne of India previous to the time of Báber. This chief at the death of Jehángire commanded the emperor's armies in the Deccan, and, having been gained over by Noor Jehán to support the cause of her son-in-law Shehriar, refused Sháh Jehán a passage through his government towards Ágrá. Sháh Jehán was thereby compelled to take a circuitous route, and on ascending the throne determined to reduce Lodi to obedience. As the latter, however, was still at the head of a large army, he was permitted to come to terms, and, on resigning the imperial division of the Deccan, was appointed to the government of Málwá. But the emperor was not sincere in his professions of reconciliation and forgiveness; and Lodi soon received orders to repair to Court, and, on appearing there, was treated with studied disrespect. One of his sons resented an affront given to him; a sudden murmur spread through the Court, and many placed their hands on their swords; and Lodi and his sons drew out their weapons to defend themselves.

The tumult increased ; the emperor leapt from his throne and fled into the hárem ; while Lodi and his sons left the palace in disgust. The residence of Lodi was now attacked, but was obstinately defended by his dependants. His greatest difficulty there were the women he had to protect, and these, finding that he was mainly afflicted on their account, repaired to their own apartments and killed themselves. This made Lodi desperate. He ordered his drums to be beaten and his trumpets to be sounded ; and his people gathering around him, he threw open the gate and openly issued out of Ágrá. He rushed through the city like a whirlwind ; and no attempt was made to intercept him.

The emperor afterwards ordered a pursuit, and Lodi was overtaken by a strong body of imperial troops on the banks of the Chumbul, which he could not cross as it was swollen by the rains. He therefore took up his post in a pass between two hills which opened into a narrow plain. The imperialists trusting to their numbers charged on him, but were so warmly received that they drew back in fear. Shame forced them to renew the charge. The shock was violent, the slaughter very heavy on both sides ; but the opposition was nevertheless desperately maintained, Khán Jehán himself being engaged in hand-to-hand fight with a stubborn Hindu warrior, named Rájáh Prithi Sing Ráhtore. It was at last determined to attempt the river, and Lodi and his son Hossein plunged into it, while another son, Azmut, held back the imperialists. The latter and his party were cut to pieces ; but Lodi succeeded in reaching Málwá notwithstanding a vigorous pursuit, and passed on thence to the Nizám at Dowlutábád, an old ally who received him with open arms.

The emperor knew the man he had to deal with, and personally undertook an expedition into the Deccan to capture him. The army collected for the purpose included one hundred thousand horse; while the infantry, artillery, and military attendants swelled up the total number to three hundred thousand men. This was further augmented as the army advanced towards the theatre of operations, the governors of the provinces passed through joining it with the forces under their respective commands. All the princes of the Deccan were now threatened with utter destruction if they refused to make their submission; and their distrust of each other, indecision, and fear rendered the cause of Lodi exceedingly precarious. He was able, however, to unite the forces of Golcondá and Beejáporé, and with these opposed the imperial general, Erádut, who made vain efforts to penetrate into Golcondá. The emperor afterwards sent the vizier, Ásaph Jáh, against him; and the name and renown of that officer led to many desertions from Lodi's ranks which thinned them considerably. But Lodi still refused to yield, and eluded the Mogul detachments by moving from place to place, till he was overtaken by Ázim Khán, and was defeated and forced to fly, after having defended himself a whole night against the entire force of his opponent.

Lodi escaped in the dark and wandered over Golcondá, while the Nizám, compelled to make peace, was obliged to agree to surrender him. This made Lodi change his course towards Oujein, and thence to Kalinjar, in the vain hope of being able to revive the spirit of insurrection in Bundelkund. All his sons were slain in his defence, and he had only thirty men with him when he was again overtaken by a Mogul detachment led by Mozuffer Khán. He

told his followers to save themselves by flight, but they burst into tears and would not desert him. Thirty men then rushed upon a strong and well-armed military force, and were cut down to a man, but not till they had made dreadful havoc among their enemies. One account says that Lodi was struck down by a ball, and fell dead at the feet of his horse ; another, that he was pierced through with a pike.

After the death of Lodi the war against the princes of the Deccan was continued, Sháh Jehán being very anxious to reduce them. But seeing the enemy so persistent, they simply retired from the field into their strongholds, which converted the fight into a succession of sieges, which were eventually terminated by the occupation of a few forts by the Moguls, while the princes generally, though much distressed, remained virtually unconquered.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CIVIL WARS WAGED BY THE SONS OF SHÁH JEHÁN.

A.D. 1657 TO 1661.

THE sanguinary conflict carried on by the sons of Sháh Jehán, during his lifetime, for the prospective succession to the throne, forms a singular chapter of history, which is not the less instructive for its uniqueness. The first half of the emperor's reign was fully occupied by several important enterprises, among which were : the war with the Uzbek Tartars in Kabool, that with the Persians for the possession of Kandahár, and the continued and obstinate prosecution of operations for the subjugation of the independent Mahomedan sovereignties in the Deccan. The first was patched up by a great victory obtained over the Uzbeks by Prince Aurungzebe, in 1647, which, though not decisive in its result, succeeded in putting a stop to further attacks by them for the time. The second terminated with the loss of Kandahár, which was annexed for good to the Persian dominions. The third, in which all the hopes and wishes of Sháh Jehán were centred, was an affair of much greater moment than the rest, and taxed all the energies of Mohábet, to whom the operations were first intrusted, without satisfying the emperor with the successes he was able to achieve.

The sons of the emperor received their training in these

wars, and were thus rendered qualified for that contest which they subsequently carried on with so much hatred and jealousy. Dára Sheko, the first, was his father's favourite, on whom Sháh Jehán, when he became indolent and addicted to pleasures, devolved many of his imperial duties which he was not able personally to perform. Soojá was his viceroy in Bengal, and Murád in Guzerát ; while Aurungzebe held the same position in the Deccan, more by his own choice than by his father's selection, because it placed him in command of the best trained of the emperor's armies. At first Soojá was selected to assist Mohábet in the Deccan, and to learn the art of war under him ; and it was this preference shown to one son that displeased the rest, and gave rise to the animosity and jealousy which afterwards broke out among them. But Soojá soon became too arrogant for Mohábet to control him, upon which he was recalled ; and when, on the death of Mohábet, Sháh Jehán himself repaired to the Deccan to superintend operations, he took Aurungzebe with him, and left him under the tuition of Khán Zemán, the son of Mohábet. During this absence of Aurungzebe, Dára and Soojá were raised to high ranks of nobility by the emperor, which made Aurungzebe particularly jealous, and suggested those projects of ambition which he began to concert means with Meer Jumlá to carry out. Dára was alive to the danger he suspected, and frequently represented to his father that it was hazardous to leave the management of the Deccan in the hands of Aurungzebe ; and, in compliance with these constant whisperings, Aurungzebe was several times removed from his post, but always managed to revert to it. He won great honour by the victory over the Uzbeks to which reference has been made, and the opportunity was taken to appoint him to

the government of Mooltán; but, having failed in the operations against Kandahár, he preferred to come back, and was reposted to the Deccan.

It was in this state of affairs that Sháh Jehán fell sick from intemperance in the seraglio, and was rendered unfit for business; and this at once kindled the flames of civil war. Dárá, with the right of primogeniture on his side and already vested with a great share of imperial authority, regarded the ambition of his brothers with distrust, and hastened to take measures to prevent any arrogation of authority on their part. Soojá, in secure possession of Bengal, thought that he had only to stretch out his hand to snatch the imperial crown. Aurungzebe best knew his own strength, and covered his designs under the convenient cloak of religion. Murád, the most vehement of the brothers, thought himself to be the most deserving of the throne, and became an easy tool in the hands of Aurungzebe.

The first to appear on the field was Soojá, who excused his precipitancy by the violence of Dárá. He had already been threatened with imprisonment or death, and necessity, he contended, fully justified his rebellion. Immediately after him Murád also declared himself, being proclaimed emperor in Guzerát by the army he commanded; upon which Soojá hastened his movements and pressed towards Benáres. But Solimán, the son of Dárá, being sent by his father against the latter, soon surprised and completely defeated him, and forced him to take refuge in Monghyr, which he besieged.

In the meantime Murád opened communications with Aurungzebe, and proposed a joint action against Dárá, which was promptly and affectionately agreed to. "Dárá," wrote back Aurungzebe in reply, "is from his

natural weakness unfit to rule; Soojá is a heretic, and therefore unworthy of the crown; as for me, I have long since dedicated myself to the service of God, and only ask for safety and tranquillity. But I shall, with my poor abilities, assist you to take possession of the throne, which you alone fully deserve to occupy, and for which the wishes of the people have already selected you." The bait took, for Murád, blinded by ambition, suspected no artifice. His army joined that of Aurungzebe, and both together gave battle to Rájáh Jeswant Sing, who had been sent by Dárá to operate against them. The action took place on the banks of the Nermuddá, near Oujein, and was begun by the Mogul cavalry of Dárá's army, who were soon worsted by the veteran warriors under Aurungzebe. Jeswant Sing, at the head of thirty thousand Rájpoos, endeavoured to repair the defeat, and, falling furiously on Aurungzebe, obliged him to draw back; but the troops of Murád, attacking the flank of the Rájpoos, gave occasion to a mixed and undistinguishing struggle, and eventually forced the Rájpoos from the field. Ten thousand Rájpoos were slain, and Solimán, the son of Dárá, was obliged to raise the siege of Monghyr, and patch up a peace with Soojá and hasten to the assistance of his father at Ágrá. But Dárá refused to await his arrival. Placing himself at the head of a hundred thousand horse with one thousand pieces of cannon, he hastened to oppose Aurungzebe and Murád, who had only forty thousand horse under them. The two parties confronted each other on the banks of the Chumbul, and for a moment Aurungzebe was disconcerted. But the treachery of Sháistá Khán, one of the generals of Dárá, reassured him, and he was helped to a by-road by which to march towards Ágrá, the camp

of the confederated brothers on the Chumbul being left unbroken to prevent the suspicions of Dárá being awakened. At last Dárá discovered that his brothers had gone off, and, immediately pressing after them overtook them at a distance of sixteen miles from Ágrá, where they again drew up face to face for battle. The army of Dárá was marshalled by Roostum; but, Dárá having heedlessly given him offence, he went and placed himself in front of the left wing, the right being commanded by Sháístá Khán, and the centre by Dárá himself. Of Aurungzebe's army the centre was intrusted to Murád, the left to Mahomed, the son of Aurungzebe, while the right was commanded by Aurungzebe himself, who, without arrogating the post of honour, occupied that of danger, being opposed to Roostum, the greatest of the generals on the opposite side.

The engagement was begun by an attack of cavalry headed by Roostum, who charged with great ability and spirit, but was unable to penetrate a masked battery in front of Aurungzebe's line, the guns of which were chained together. Being at the same time singled out by the order of Aurungzebe, he received a cannon-ball on his breast as he was cheering his men to the charge, which at once checked the fury of his followers. But Chuttersál, a Rájpoor chief, still offered a determined resistance at the head of five thousand Rájpoors; and it was not till he fell that the whole wing was put to flight. In the meantime, Dárá, with the centre of his army, fell upon Murád with great vigour, and though he was repulsed repeatedly by volleys of artillery, rallied again and again, till the whole of Murád's centre was broken and he himself covered with wounds. At this juncture Murád was supported by some fresh troops under Mahomed, the son

of Aurungzebe, who was especially sent to extricate him. This checked the triumph of Dárá, while it revived the troops of Murád, and the battle was renewed on both sides with redoubled fury. Many thousands of men were slain, and many thousands fled from the field; but still the contest went on, till not more than one thousand men remained on the side of Dárá, and scarcely one hundred with Aurungzebe and Murád. The hopes of the latter now began to fail, when Dárá's foster-brother, who sat with him on the same elephant, having been struck dead by a cannon-ball, the elephant-driver made the animal recede a few paces, either from personal fear or to secure the safety of his master, upon which all the men on Dárá's side, anticipating his retreat, took to their heels, and when Dárá, descending from his elephant, mounted a horse, he found the field deserted by his followers.

This defeat dashed the expectations of Dárá for ever, and gave the crown of India to Aurungzebe. Dárá was anxious to repair to Ágrá to defend it; but it was correctly pointed out to him by Sháh Jehán that walls were no defence for those who had failed in open fight. Aurungzebe in the meantime affected an anxious wish to throw himself at the feet of his father, and, under this semblance, Mahomed, his son, was able to enter the citadel, overpower the imperial guards, and man the walls and ramparts with his own men, whereby Sháh Jehán was made a prisoner. Simultaneously, Aurungzebe was also playing at cross-purposes with Murád, each brother suspecting the other's intentions and endeavouring to make him a prisoner. The scheme of Aurungzebe was at last successful. He entrapped Murád by inviting him to a company of young ladies by whom he was intoxicated,

after which he was seized and bound, and sent a prisoner first to Delhi, and subsequently to Gwálor. Aurungzebe then mounted the throne, assuming the name of Állumgire.

Dará was now at Láhore, expecting to be joined by his son Solimán. The latter had still a large though disorganised army under him ; but, not being in a position to give Aurungzebe battle, he moved along the impervious country on the north, where the Ganges issues from the mountains, endeavouring only to make good his retreat. In this way he entered Cashmere, upon which Aurungzebe closed all the passes of the mountains and held him a prisoner there, till the rájáh of Cashmere was, on a later day, prevailed upon to surrender him. The forces under Dará were yet numerous ; but his heart failed him when Aurungzebe arrived on the Sutledge to give him battle, and he fled towards Mooltán followed by Mahomed.

Aurungzebe now turned his arms towards Soojá, who had intermediately been collecting an army, and was on his way to Ágrá to release Sháh Jehán from confinement. Mahomed was at the same time recalled from Mooltán, and Meer Jumlá from the Deccan ; and the three armies joined on the banks of the Jumná, near Alláhábád, at a short distance from which Soojá was encamped. The attack on Soojá was commenced by Jumlá, who had observed the negligent disposition of his forces and opened his batteries upon them. He was supported by Aurungzebe, who ordered his elephants to advance and tread down the intrenchments raised by Soojá ; and the elephant charge being loyally supported by a strong body of cavalry, everything was carried down before them. At this moment Jeswant Sing, still smarting under his defeat near Oujein, having since joined the

side of Aurungzebe, now deserted him, and fell on his rear, where he did much havoc, raising the cry of Aurungzebe's defeat. But Aurungzebe fought on unshaken; and, when his elephant was wounded, he ordered it to be chained to its place, himself remaining immovable in the midst of the battle, lest one step backwards should turn the tide against him. The nobles who rushed to his rescue bore down all opposition before them; the advantage gained by Soojá was lost; and, when he descended from his elephant on its being hurt, his army, seeing an empty castle, thought him to be slain, and fled.

Aurungzebe was in no condition to pursue the enemy; but he was now at liberty to fall upon the Rájpoos, who had been plundering his rear. A bloody battle was fought with them, and they were compelled to fly; but they succeeded in carrying off all the booty they had taken. In the meantime Soojá fled, deserted by his followers and deserting them. He first sought refuge at Pátná, and then at Monghyr, after which he was hunted from place to place by Meer Jumlá, whom Aurungzebe despatched to Bengal to subjugate it; and Soojá was obliged to fly to Arracan through the forests and mountains of Tipperáh, and was there murdered by the Mugh Rájáh, together with his family.

Dará, after Soojá's defeat on the banks of the Jumná, showed a bold front by collecting his forces in the neighbourhood of Ajmere, where he intrenched himself. His position was so strong that Aurungzebe hesitated to attack him; but the difficulty was got over by the discovery of a narrow and steep path which gave access to a mountain on the right of Dará's lines, the summit of which was attained. Simultaneously, a deceptive movement made by two of Aurungzebe's generals—Delere

Khán and Jaya Sing—who affected to desert Aurungzebe to march over to Dárá, opened the camp of the latter in the front to receive them. This enabled Aurungzebe to advance upon it with his whole force; while the party which had gained the summit of the mountain showed themselves above the camp, the hills re-echoing with their shouts and with the deafening sound of the stones and loosened rocks they threw down. Dárá's army was afeared; swords on one side and rocks on another spread a general panic; and, while some fought, many fled. Dárá in confusion retreated with his women from the field, and was soon plundered of everything he had by his own Mahrattá followers. The miseries he endured in his flight were akin to those experienced by Humáyun in his retreat before Sherc. Humáyun escaped after his misfortunes in the desert; Dárá was betrayed into the hands of Aurungzebe by a chief named Jihon Khán, and carried with ignominy through Delhi, confined, and put to death. Murád and Solimán Sheko were also secretly murdered; and even his own son Mahomed, whose daring disposition rendered him an object of fear to a suspicious father, was kept a close prisoner in Gwálíor, before Aurungzebe felt himself perfectly safe on the throne he had secured. Sháh Jehán died in 1666, and removed the last thorn from his side.

CHAPTER XXX.

AURUNGZEBE'S WARS WITH THE RÁJPOOTS.

A.D. 1677 TO 1681.

THE bigotry of Aurungzebe created many difficulties with his Hindu subjects. He revived the *Jeziá*, or poll-tax, on the Hindus, and resisted their supplications against it by force. This lost him the attachment of his own Hindu subjects, and gave offence to his Rájpoor feudatories, who, though not directly subordinate to him, had always served him with fidelity. The disaffection of the Rájpoors culminated on the oppressions exercised by the emperor on the widow and children of Jeswant Sing coming to be generally known. Aurungzebe had always distrusted Jeswant, and, as he could not keep him near his native dominions, had availed himself of a rebellion among the Afgháns to send him and his Rájpoors to Kabool. From that place Jeswant never returned ; and when, after his death, his widow and two infants were coming back to Jodpore, Aurungzebe determined to intercept and capture them. They had already succeeded in forcing a passage through Attock notwithstanding his efforts to prevent them, when they were shortly after surrounded in the neighbourhood of Delhi. But here the leader of the ránee's escort, Doorga Dás, adroitly obtained leave to send back a part of his forces, together with their women

and children, to Jodpore; and he managed to send with them the widow-ránee and her children in disguise, they being represented in the camp by a female-servant and two other children. As the privacy of the Rájput female apartments had to be respected this deceit was long undiscovered; and when Aurungzebe, for the sake of better security, ordered the removal of his captives to the citadel, a protracted defence of them was maintained by the Rájputs to disarm suspicion. The trick was eventually detected; but, seeing that the mishap could not be mended, Aurungzebe affected not to believe that any had occurred, and pertinaciously upheld the pretensions of his actual captives against the rightful heirs.

The Rájputs, disgusted with this policy, determined to make a joint effort against the emperor, Rájáh Rám Sing of Jeypore only remaining attached to his side. The rest, placing Ráj Sing, Ráná of Udayapore, at their head, collected together to oppose him; whereupon Aurungzebe assembled a large army, and marched against Ajmere. This demonstration had at first the effect that was intended; the Ráná was compelled to make overtures of peace. But the terms offered by him were no sooner agreed to than he broke faith, upon which Aurungzebe determined to put forth all his strength and, once for all, destroy the combination against him. The armies of Bengal and the Deccan were ordered to join him, and the army of Guzerát to co-operate from that direction. The successes of the Moguls in the open country were signal; Chectore, Mundulgurh, Mundisor, Jeerun, and other strongholds were all quickly captured; but the Rájputs mustered in strength on the crest of the Arávulli mountains, and Aurungzebe, approaching the pass of Dobárrí, was unable to enter the valley it led to. To effect a

diversion, Akbar, his youngest son, was despatched from Dobárrí to Udayapore at the head of fifty thousand men ; but he was unable to proceed beyond a few paces, being surrounded and rendered helpless amid the intricacies of the mountains. His position now became exceedingly critical ; death menaced his forces in every form, and famine stared before him ; and there was no opening at all for retreat. The commiseration of Jaya Sing, the eldest son of the Ránuá, at last induced him to offer peace to the Mogul prince on a promise being made that the war would be closed, when guides were given to him to lead out his forces in the direction of Clectore. Orme says that it was Aurungzebe himself who was thus inclosed, and then allowed to depart ; also, that his favourite Circassian wife was similarly surrounded, and liberated. Be that as it may, the promise given to the Rájputs was not kept, for the war was continued.

In the intricate gorges of the mountains the Rájputs were everywhere victorious. Besides the success at Dobárrí, a detachment under Delere Khán was entirely destroyed after having entered the Dáisoori Pass. At Poorh Mandel, a Rájput chief, named Sáwal Dás, also gave a detachment under Khán Rohillá a signal defeat ; while Prince Bheem made a powerful diversion by the invasion of Guzerát, where several towns were taken. But for all these defeats the Moguls took ample vengeance on the plains, burning and destroying the whole country, and even carrying off women and children.

The outrages perpetrated by the Moguls completely alienated the Rájputs from their faithfulness ; and they began to retaliate even in the open country as well as they could with a force of twenty-five thousand men, which was especially employed for the purpose. This

work was intrusted to Dyál Sháh, the civil minister of Udayapore, who ravaged Málwá and made it a desert, and, joining Jaya Sing, gave battle to Prince Ázim at Cheetore, and totally defeated him. Prince Akbar was similarly defeated by Rájáh Bheem. Nor did the Ráj-poots depend on force only. Doorga Dás met artifice by artifice, and not only undermined the fidelity of the Mogul troops, but succeeded in securing the co-operation of Akbar himself by proclaiming him Emperor of India. The army under Akbar amounted at this time to seventy thousand men, and the position of Aurungzebe by his defection necessarily became unpleasant and perilous. But where others mined he undermined, and he soon succeeded in reclaiming the troops to their allegiance by practising on their fears, upon which Akbar, left alone with the Ráj-poots, was obliged to seek an asylum with the Mahrattás, in the Koncan, whence he was subsequently conveyed in an English ship to Persia: so much did he apprehend the vengeance of his father. In the meantime the war in Rájasthán was continued, and, though the Moguls were generally successful, the Ráj-poots remained obdurate and unsubdued. Nowhere were the Moguls ever so checkmated as in Rájasthán; nowhere did they receive stronger return-blows from their enemies. They continued their ravages with fiendish cruelty; but these were generally requited by the Ráj-poots in similar style. For every Hindu temple that was desecrated the Ráj-poots plundered a mosque, burning the Korán and despoiling the *moolláhs* in return for the excesses practised by the Moguls on their priests. At last, both Aurungzebe and the Ráná of Udayapore became equally anxious to terminate the struggle, and a peace was concluded by which the *Jeziá* was abandoned for the cession

of a small territory as penalty for the assistance the Rájpoos had rendered to Akbar in his revolt. The terms included, on the other hand, the surrender to the Rájpoos of the districts taken during the war in Jodpore and Cheetore: and thus a seeming but no real harmony was secured. The western Rájpoos still continued in arms; and all Rájpootáná maintained more or less a hostile and defiant attitude up to the end of Aurungzebe's reign.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE WARS OF SIVÁJEE AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

A.D. 1646 TO 1700.

WE turn now to notice the great convulsions which were caused by the Mahrattás in the Deccan during the reigns of Sháh Jehán and Aurungzebe. The country of the Mahrattás is mentioned in the sacred books of the Hindus as *Mahárástra*, whence the name of the people is derived ; but for a long time the latter were better known by the familiar designation of *Burgees*, which was almost synonymous to that of "freebooters." They were not known at all as a political community till the time of Sivájec, the grandson of Málojee Bhonslá, who held a command of five thousand horse in the service of the Mahomedan Rájáh of Áhmednugger, and was particularly distinguished for his robberies. Like the rest of his family Sivájec imbibed an early love of adventure of the bandit type, and was suspected of sharing in all the more extensive depredations committed in the Koncan. These practices and his hunting expeditions made him familiar with every path and defile throughout the Gháts, and also well acquainted with their wild inhabitants ; and with knowledge and adherents of this description he soon found fitting work for himself. He first acquired possession of a hill-fort, named Torná, on the south-west of Pooná, and then, usurping a *jyghere* which had been held by his father Sháhjee, under the government of Beejápore,

gradually extended his power. Finally, he found himself strong enough to revolt against Beejáporé, and then, surprising the governor of North Koncan, took possession of that country.

He now began to amplify his plans of aggrandisement, and, assassinating a Hindu Rájáh, who held the hilly country south of Pooná, from the Gháts to the Kristná, seized upon his territory. When Aurungzebe, then prince, came to the Deccan in 1655, Sivájee affected to be a servant of the Mogul government, and, making his submission, obtained a confirmation of his possessions. He next murdered Afzul Khán, who was sent against him from Beejáporé, and then overran all the country near the Gháts, and took possession of the hill-forts. The king of Beejáporé afterwards took the field against him in person, but was not able to withstand him long : and, when peace was concluded, Sivájee was left in possession of all his conquests.

The troops of Sivájee already numbered fifty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, and he now ventured to seek open rupture with the Moguls and ravaged all the country up to Aurungábad. Sháístá Khán was sent to operate against him, and occupied Pooná ; but Sivájee surprised him there at night, wounded him, cut to pieces his son and many of his attendants, and then ran off : after which he plundered Surát. The inroads into the Mogul dominions now became very frequent ; but what exasperated Aurungzebe most was a maritime exploit by which some Mogul ships conveying pilgrims to Meccá were captured. A large army under Jaya Sing was sent to chastise Sivájee for these offences ; whereupon he hastened to surrender himself, professing the humblest contrition and fidelity.

Sivájee and his son Sámabajee, were now taken under escort to Delhi, under general promises of advancement in the imperial service; but the reception they received from Aurungzebe was so cold and haughty that the Mahrattá chief was deeply chagrined, and, returning scorn for scorn, left the presence. It is said that the daughter of Aurungzebe betrayed a love for the daring adventurer, and that Sivájee having demanded her hand was ordered out of the palace. Perceiving that his motions were watched, Sivájee met deceit by deceit, and at last contrived to escape together with his son, in hampers used for the conveyance of sweetmeats and fruits; after which he passed on, first, to Mathoorá, and thence to the Deccan. Once more at large he did not cease to ply the Moguls with affected professions of fidelity, and obtained peace with Aurungzebe on very favourable terms, the emperor being equally anxious to quiet his suspicions. A large portion of the territory before held by him was restored, a new *jyghere* was granted to him in Berár, and his title of *Rájáh* was acknowledged.

After this, Sivájee turned his arms on Beejápore and Golcondá, both of which were compelled to pay tribute to him. He then gave his own people a regular government, and, though himself no better than a captain of banditti, introduced a system more strict and methodical than was known to the Moguls. Aurungzebe could not look on all this with apathy, and schemed earnestly to entrap him again; but Sivájee was too sagacious to be caught twice. A renewal of war was the necessary consequence, and Sivájee anticipated it by surprising Singurh, a place near Pooná, which had formerly belonged to him, and which was now recovered. He then ravaged the Mogul territories as far as Kándeish, and levied the

chout, or tribute of one-fourth of the revenue, on the people. An army of forty thousand men was sent by Aurungzebe under Mohábet Khán to put a stop to these incursions and thoroughly reconquer the Deccan. But Sivájee, grown bold by success, did not hesitate to meet it in the open field, and defeated a large detachment of twenty thousand men, upon which Mohábet was recalled, and Khán Jehán appointed to succeed him.

But Khán Jehán was not strong enough to prosecute active hostilities against the Mahrattás; while Sivájee augmented his power still further by the conquest of Beejápore, after which he was crowned king at Raigurh. He had now for some time made no depredations on the Mogul territories, and this being imputed to weakness, encouraged the Moguls to enter and ravage the Mahrattá country. They had soon reason to repent doing so, for the Mahrattás retaliated by penetrating at once into Kándeish, Berár, and Guzerát, as far as Baroach, where they, for the first time, crossed the Nermuddá. Aurungzebe was baffled and distracted by these incessant raids, as Sivájee, after devastating his fairest provinces, always succeeded in screening himself behind his inaccessible hills. Sivájee also conducted an expedition into the south of India, and, taking the fortresses of Jinjee and Vellore, recovered a *jyghere* in Mysore which had belonged to his father.

Much embarrassment was caused to Sivájee after this by the desertion of his son Sámabajee, who, having been punished by his father for his debaucheries, went over to the Moguls, and was played off by them against him. But Sámabajee was only too glad to return when he found Aurungzebe bent on keeping him a prisoner; and, his son set at large, Sivájee freely indulged himself,

again and again, in invading and laying waste the Mogul provinces. He was recalled from these expeditions by the rájáh of Beejáporé, to aid him against the Mogul general Delere Khán, who had laid siege to his capital. The assistance asked for was cordially rendered, and for it Sivájee received a large price—namely, all the territory between the Toomboodrá and the Kristná—which materially augmented his power.

Having thus established the Mahrattá kingdom Sivájee died in 1680, when Aurungzebe paid his memory a just tribute by exclaiming that “He was indeed a great general, and the only one who had the magnanimity to found a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India.” His death gave rise to a contest for the throne between his two sons, Sámabajee and Rájáram. At last Sámabajee succeeded, and under him the Mahrattá army attained a rapid increase of strength and power. But the chief himself soon got entangled in his debaucheries, by which the wealth of Sivájee was squandered and the renown of the Mahrattá name tarnished. At this juncture Aurungzebe arrived personally in the Deccan, with the primary object of reducing Beejáporé and Golcondá, and the secondary object of capturing Sámabajee. Beejáporé was first attacked by Prince Ázim, while Aurungzebe proceeded towards Áhmednugger. This gave Sámabajee an opportunity to ravage the country to the emperor’s rear. The failure of Ázim compelled Aurungzebe to invest Beejáporé personally, and the town being distressed for provisions was forced to yield, whereupon Aurungzebe levelled it with the ground, and abolished the monarchy with Vandal rage. He had intermediately made peace with Golcondá, which was now broken without a pretext,

except that the king was denounced as a protector of infidels. A brave defence of the place was made for seven months, after which it was betrayed, when it was destroyed in the same manner as Beejápore. The effect of these conquests was to liberate the Pátháns and mercenaries who had hitherto served the kings of Beejápore and Golcondá, and to compel them to join the Mahrattás, or plunder on their own account; and this gave rise to a train of vexations and disasters which followed Aurungzebe to the grave. Sámabajee, however, was early captured, having been surprised by one of the Mogul generals in one of his pleasure-houses, and was cruelly put to death by Aurungzebe for having exasperated him by his blasphemy.

The animosity of the Mahrattás was now raised to a high pitch; but the overwhelming force of Aurungzebe shut out all hopes of immediate resistance. The emperor pressed his advantage by sending a detachment to besiege Raígurh, where Sáhoo, the infant son of Sámabajee, had been proclaimed king, with Rájárám for regent. The fortress, after holding out for some months, was taken; upon which Rájárám escaped to Jinjee, where he assumed the title of rájááh himself, Sáhoo having become a prisoner in the hands of the Moguls. Thus did the Mahrattás create an internal quarrel for themselves, at the same time that they were sore beset by their external enemies. Aurungzebe despatched an army under Zulfikar Khán to reduce Jinjee; but all the Mahrattá country rose up against the invaders, and harassed them by desultory operations under independent leaders. Zulfikar Khán was absolutely unable to do anything, and reported to the emperor that his army was insufficient to invest, far less to reduce, a place so strong as Jinjee. A fresh

army was sent under Prince Kámbaksh to co-operate with Zulfikar; but the generals fell out with each other, and no progress was made. The quarrel at last assumed such proportions that the prince was placed under restraint by Zulfikar, upon which Aurungzebe moved southward in person, expressing his total disapproval of Zulfikar's proceedings. Kámbaksh was released by Aurungzebe; but the sole command of the army was left with Zulfikar, a discontented chief who, to some extent, was also disaffected. He renewed the siege, but so protracted the operations as to raise the indignation of Aurungzebe; when, to avoid being recalled with disgrace, the capture of Jinjee was effected, but not till Rájáráam had received fair time for escape. Shortly after Rájáráam died, and was succeeded, first by a son, named Sivájee II., and afterwards by another son, named Sámabajee II., both under the regency of his widow Tára Báe. Sáhoo, the rightful rájá, was still a prisoner with the Moguls, and was not released till a later day, when Ázimooshán and Báhádur Sháh contended for the throne.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE SUBSEQUENT MAHRATTÁ WARS.

A.D. 1700 TO 1720.

THE genius of Sivájee formed the Mahrattás into a nation : the persistent efforts of Aurungzebe and his successors to stamp them out animated them with one spirit, and made the nation powerful in spite of every endeavour to prevent it. The death of Rájárám did not in any way affect the plan devised by Aurungzebe for reducing the country ; and in four or five years he succeeded in capturing all the principal forts which had been held by the Mahrattás. But the entire nation was now banded together, and began to multiply as the Mogul armies began to decrease. Several detachments appeared under independent leaders, and, after defeating Zulfikar Khán in the Deccan, they spread over Málwá, and even entered Guzerát. Their predatory incursions were everywhere felt, as the towns were pillaged and the fields ravaged, and what could not be carried off was always burnt down. In a short time they began to recover the forts which the Moguls had taken from them ; and the Mogul grand-army, reduced to the greatest distress, was at last obliged to retreat to Áhmednugger, in a state of extreme exhaustion.

The opportune death of Aurungzebe at this moment

still further aided the Mahrattá cause, by bringing on a fierce contest for succession between the princes Moázzim and Ázim. A bloody battle decided the struggle in favour of the former, who succeeded under the title of Báhádur Sháh; but he had still to fight with Kámbaksh, who had intermediately revolted. When these troubles were ended, Báhádur Sháh proceeded deliberately against the Mahrattás, and commenced by upholding the side of Tára Báe and Sámabajee II. against Sáhoo, the rightful heir, who, hitherto a prisoner in the hands of the Moguls, had been set at liberty by Prince Ázim. But the national cause under Sáhoo was strongly upheld, and was eventually triumphant; and peace had to be concluded with him upon terms which permitted the levy of the *chout* by the Mahrattás in the Deccan, it being only stipulated that it should be collected by the agents of the Mogul government without the interference of the Mahrattás.

These conditions were subsequently evaded when Chin Kilich Khán succeeded to the government of the Deccan. The internal foud of the Mahrattás was still raging with great bitterness, and Kilich fomented it by helping the weaker side. But he was soon removed from his post, and was succeeded by Hossein Áli, when the wind veered again, and the Mahrattás, taking the offensive, ravaged the Mogul territories as they had done before, and, seizing upon villages within Mogul limits, turned them into sallying centres, whence they plundered the adjoining districts. A strenuous effort was made by the Mogul Government to repress these inroads, and a strong detachment was sent to oppose Dabári, the principal leader of the Mahrattás, who retreated before it in regular Mahrattá fashion, dispersing his forces in small parties

in the hilly country, to reunite again wherever the Mogul army found it most difficult to assemble in strength. The result was that the Mogul detachment was cut up, not even one person being allowed to escape till he was stripped of his horse, arms, and clothes. This virtually terminated the Mahrattá war. The Moguls were now only too glad to come to terms, and Hossein Áli concluded a treaty acknowledging Sáhoo's right over the whole territory formerly possessed by Sivájee, with the addition of all later conquests. He further restored to him all the forts which the Moguls had taken and had not yet given back; recognised the right of the Mahrattás to levy *chout* over the whole of the Deccan; and engaged, on behalf of the Mogul Government, to make a further payment of one-tenth of the revenue under the name of *Sirdesmuki*. In return Sáhoo agreed to pay a tribute of ten lakhs of rupees to the emperor, and to furnish a contingent of fifteen thousand horse to preserve the tranquillity of the country. The treaty was so disgraceful that Feroksere refused to ratify it; but, ratified or not, the Mahrattás were quite able to enforce the concession they had extorted.

The subsequent consolidation of the Mahrattá power was effected by Bálájee Viswánáth, the minister of Sáhoo, and the founder of the Bráhmaṇ dynasty of the Peishwás, a title previously created by Sivájee himself. After the death of Feroksere, Bálájee obtained from Mahomed Sháh the ratification of the treaty concluded by Hossein Áli, while he also destroyed all opposition to Sáhoo's authority by the adherents of Sámabajee II. For these services Bálájee was made Peishwá, and, being succeeded in the office by an able son, Bájee Ráo I., the Mahrattá power was by them thoroughly consolidated.

Sáhoo's right over the whole of the Mahrattá country was now acknowledged even by Sámabajee II., who agreed to become rájáh of Kolápore, which, with the adjacent country, was made over to him.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

RISE OF THE SIKH POWER IN THE PUNJÁB.

A.D. 1709 TO 1716.

THE most important event of the reign of Báhádur Sháh was the development of the Sikh community, which led to a war with the Punjáb. The original appearance of this people was as a religious sect, not seeking any political position or authority. Its founder was Nának, a disciple of Kabir, who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth century, and maintained that the worship of God was not affected by the distinctions of race and creed, and that necessarily the devotions of the Hindu and the Mahomedan were equally efficacious. This universal toleration contributed very much to increase the number of his followers, which in time attracted the notice of the Mahomedan Government, by whom the eighth *guru* in succession was persecuted and put to death, in the reign of Jeháugire. Baptised in blood, the Sikhs, who had hitherto been very inoffensive, now changed their character; and, taking up arms under Hur Govind, their ninth *guru*, gave much trouble to their rulers, till they were eventually expelled from the neighbourhood of Láhore and kept confined within the northern mountains.

In the seventeenth century, Guru Govind, the grand-

son of Hur Govind, formed them into a religious and military commonwealth, and laid down for their guidance a religious and legal code. They continued, as before, to admit all converts without reference to race distinctions; but each recruit had now to take the vow of a soldier and adopt a soldier's life; and even the deity he worshipped went henceforth by the name of *Sarba Lohánti*, or made wholly of iron. The followers of Guru Govind thus came daily to increase in hardihood, but, being still unequal to the Mahomedans, wore, after a long struggle, defeated by them, while all their strongholds were captured. The mother and children of Guru Govind were killed by the victors, and the misfortunes of the chief so told on him that he was at last obliged to accept a small command in the Mogul service, and sink down into insignificance. He was afterwards murdered by a private enemy; but his religious system survived both his degradation and death. With his dying breath he refused to appoint a successor, and Bandu, an ascetic, who rose to the chief power after him, never attained the position of a *guru*. The organisation introduced by Govind was, however, perpetuated; the Sikh from the moment of his initiation continued to be a soldier wedded to his *grunth* and the sword, and to this day they are both objects of worship to him.

In the reign of Báhádur Sháh, Bandu called out his followers from the retreats they had hitherto occupied, and overran the east of the Punjáb, committing the greatest atrocities. The Mahomedan mosques were destroyed by him, and the *moolláhs* butchered; whole towns were massacred, including women and children; and the dead bodies were everywhere cast to birds and beasts of prey, to be devoured. Grown bolder by these

depredations the Sikhs ventured even to attack the governor of Sirhind, and defeated him in a pitched battle, after which they passed eastward as far as Sáhárnpore, their entire route being marked by blood. At this last place they received a check, which obliged them to fall back upon the country beyond the Sutledge, between Loodiáná and the mountains; but, unable to remain idle long, they again appeared to ravage the country, on one side up to Láhore, and on the other as far as Delhi. This last inroad drew out Báhádur Sháh in person against them; and he succeeded in driving them back with great slaughter to their hills, while Bandu, who sought refuge in a fort, was vigorously besieged. The fort was eventually taken; but a desperate sally having been made by the garrison, Bandu effected his escape. A detachment was now especially employed to watch the Sikhs, and their depredations were in this way checked to some extent for a time.

They again mustered strong in the reign of Feroksere, when Bandu was able to defeat the imperial troops, and ravaged the same extent of country as before. An army was now sent against him under Abdoos Summud, by whom he was repeatedly defeated, and finally captured along with his principal adherents. The prisoners were then paraded through the streets all the way to Delhi, and were there cruelly put to death—Bandu being torn to pieces with hot pincers. The rest of the Sikhs were subsequently hunted down everywhere like wild beasts; and this deferred the consolidation of their power to a later era. Under the house of Timour the Sikhs never flourished to the same extent that they did after its decline, during which eventful period, in the general scramble for power among all comers, they formed them-

selves into a great nation, and established an independent kingdom. This career of aggrandisement was opened by a chief named Charat Sing, was pursued with still greater success by his son Mahá Sing, and was finally completed by the great Runjeet.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE INVASION OF NÁDIR SHÁH.

A.D. 1738-39.

THE death of Báhádur Sháh was followed by a civil contest between his four sons, the eldest of whom succeeded to the throne under the title of Jehándar Sháh. After a reign of eighteen months he was deposed in favour of his nephew, Feroksere, who reigned six years. Then followed the brief reigns of Refia-ad-Dejât and Refia-ad-Dowláh, the first of three months and the second of a few days ; after which Mahomed Sháh, the grandson of Báhádur, was made king. During these dissensions the imperial power was very much curtailed, the governors of provinces assuming independence ; among whom were Ásaph Jáh, the viceroy of the Deccan, who had assumed the name of Nizám-al-moolk, and Sádát Áli Khán, the governor of Oude. The Mahrattás also extended their conquests and tributary exactions in northern and western Hindustán, and, founding the houses of Scindiá, Holkár, and the Guicowár, carried their depredations to the very gates of Ágrá.

The confusion throughout the period was so great that the authority exercised by the crown, even where it was acknowledged, was virtually nominal. This was observed by Nádir Kooli, otherwise called Nádir Sháh, the greatest

warrior of Persia, who was at this moment engaged in repressing the Ghiljis of Afghánistán, and in reconquering Kandahár from them. It is said that he was invited over to India by the disaffected *omráhs* of Delhi, among whom was Nizám-al-moolk, who expected to secure for himself the viceroyalty of India under the Persian throne. The plea of the invasion was the indifference of the Court of Delhi to the request of Nádir for the seizure and expulsion from India of some Afghán chiefs who had fled thither from Ghazni. It was the plea of the wolf against the lamb, for the Indian Government, even if it had wished it, was not strong enough to comply with the demand. Nádir also complained that a special envoy sent by him with the above representation had, with his whole retinue of chiefs and followers, been killed by the governor of Jellálábád. But this complaint was equally idle, because the governor of Jellálábád was, at this time, virtually independent of the puppet-sovereign of Delhi.

The invader commenced his march from Kandahár *viâ* Kabool, Jellálábád, and Peshawar, at the head of an army estimated by some at one hundred and sixty and by others at seventy thousand men. All opposition on the route was easily overcome by him, and the Indus crossed by the end of 1738. Mahomed Sháh moved to Karnál to oppose him with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand horse and some irregular infantry, and was there joined by Sádát Khán, one of the conspirators against his authority, with thirty thousand men. An attempt on the part of the Persians to intercept Sádát Khán and his forces brought on a partial action, which ended in a general engagement. The Mogul army was divided into three bodies and extended a great length on the field, which gave to Mahomed Sháh an assurance of victory.

But Nádir was used to greater odds, had a contempt for the enervated soldiers of India, and was besides certain of traitors in the Indian camp. He was therefore very far from being disheartened at the opposition he met with. The attack was commenced by the Persians with wild impetuosity; but, a spirited resistance being offered, the first shock was equally violent on both sides. Dowrán, the general of Mahomed Sháh, was well-skilled in the art of war, and kept his ground with an obstinacy by which Nádir was all but defeated. But, unfortunately for the Mogul army, Dowrán was soon killed, and then everything was quickly thrown into confusion, both by treachery and despair. The loss of the Moguls was so great that Mahomed, though still unsubdued, put the best face on the matter and hastened to throw himself on the clemency of the invader, preferring to trust an open enemy than the specious friends by whom he was surrounded. He was received by Nádir with great courtesy, and assured that it was not his intention to deprive him of the throne of his ancestors. Nádir's only demands were that the expenses of the expedition be paid, and time given to his fatigued army to refresh themselves in Delhi. The army accordingly marched into Delhi and occupied it, every precaution being taken by Nádir for the preservation of discipline among them, and for the protection of the people.

The compensation in money asked for was twenty-five crores of rupees; and this had to be raised by the magistrates by a general tax proportioned to the wealth of each inhabitant. Great general dissatisfaction was the consequence, which was further increased by an outbreak of famine caused by all communication with the country having been cut off. A petty squabble for rice and fowl

between the dealers and some Persian soldiers increased into a quarrel, upon which the dealers, being forcibly deprived of their articles, gave out that Nádir had ordered a general pillage; and, when some of the inhabitants proclaimed afterwards that Nádir was dead, the hatred of the mob broke forth in full fury, and several of the Persian soldiers were killed. Nádir, attempting to quell the tumult, was assailed with stones, arrows, and fire-arms from the houses, and one of the chiefs who accompanied him was killed by a pistol-shot, at his side. This enraged him so much that he ordered the cavalry to clear the streets, and the musketeers to scour the terraces and commence a general massacre of the inhabitants. The order was rigidly carried out, and it is said that some one hundred, or one hundred and fifty thousand persons were slain, Nádir passing the time in gloomy silence in the little mosque of Rohn-u-Dowláh. His countenance was so dark and terrible that for some time no one ventured to approach him, till at last Mahomed Sháh, accompanied by some of his *omráhs*, took courage to do so. Nádir sternly asked them what they wanted; upon which Mahomed Sháh burst into tears, while the nobles with one voice beseeched him to spare the city. The open sword in his hand was now sheathed. "For the sake of the prince Mahomed I forgive," exclaimed Nádir, and so perfect was the discipline of his army that the order stopping the massacre was at once obeyed.

But the hands that were forbidden to slay were not prohibited to rob: Nádir's sole object in coming to India was to enrich himself and his followers, and the pillage of the city was leisurely continued. All the wealth in the imperial treasury, the peacock-throne, the royal wardrobe and armoury were seized upon; the wealth of the

great nobles was next as freely appropriated ; and, last of all, contributions were levied from the people with every species of cruelty. Great numbers of the inhabitants succumbed under the effects of the usage they received ; people suspected of concealing their wealth were brutally tortured ; and many died with their own hands to avoid insult and misery. The gates of the city were shut during these days of outrage and oppression, and famine added poignancy to the other afflictions suffered by the inhabitants. An actor now came forward and exhibited a play which tickled the fancy of the invader. "What dost thou want to be done for thee?" inquired Nádir of the playwright. "O king! command the gates to be opened that the poor may not perish;" and that which the tears and groans of the multitude could not extort, was conceded to the request of a buffoon.

Nádir marched out of Delhi after a residence in it of fifty-eight days, carrying with him spoils amounting in money to nine millions sterling, besides several millions in gold, silver, and jewellery. Large territorial concessions were also made to him, including Kabool, Táttá, and a part of Mooltán. Before retiring from India he is said to have spat on the beards of two of the great chiefs who had betrayed their country by inviting him—namely, the Nizám-al-moolk and Sádat Áli. They resolved to kill themselves and wipe out the insult ; and Sádat Áli actually did so. But the Nizám, the colder villain of the two, survived both his disgrace and his rival, to found the independent sovereignty of Hyderábád in the Deccan. Another account says that Sádat Khán killed himself because Nádir had spoken to him in terms of great severity about the collection of the *peishcush* demanded by him from the merchants.

The exit of the invader from India was marked by scenes of devastation and misery as fearful as those which had distinguished his onward course. He characterised himself correctly when he said that he had been sent by God against the nations whom He had determined to visit in His wrath.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE BATTLE OF PÁNIPUT

A.D. 1761.

THE Mahrattás attained the zenith of their power during the administration of Bálá Ráo, the son of Bájee Ráo I. The power of Nádir Sháh had struck Bájee Ráo with amazement, and, after the retreat of the invader, he determined so to consolidate the Mahrattá power as to make it the first in India. The same policy was followed by his successor, Bálá Ráo, and between the two they succeeded in organising a large, well-paid, and well-mounted army, in the place of the predatory bands which had hitherto represented the Mahrattá power. To this army was added a train of artillery surpassing that of the Moguls, and, the whole authority of the nation being now wielded by the Peishwá, it was soon felt by the surrounding States to be virtually irresistible. The frontiers of the Mahrattá Empire came thus to be extended to the Himálayás on the north and the Indus on the north-west, and nearly to the extremity of the peninsula on the south, all the territory within these limits which did not actually belong to them being forced to pay tribute. The reign of the Moguls had already become nominal; it was tolerated only on payment of the *chout*: and it would in a few years have been altogether

set aside but for the appearance of a fresh foreign enemy, with whom the Mahomedans hastened to make common cause in defence of their existence.

This foe was Áhmed Sháh Dooráni, a general of Nádir, whom he succeeded as king of Kabool, Táttá, and Mooltán. Five distinct expeditions were conducted by him into India. The first was undertaken in 1747, and contemplated the conquest of the Punjáb. It was resisted vigorously by his namesake Áhmed, the heir-apparent of Delhi; and a disastrous accident—the explosion of a magazine—having occurred in the Afghán camp, the Dooráni chief was compelled to draw off his troops and retire. The second invasion was attempted in 1749; but, on this occasion, the invader was bought off by the governor of Mooltán, who offered him the revenue of four districts in the Punjáb, which he accepted. The bribe, however, was not sufficient to satisfy him long; and a third invasion, in 1751, resulted in the formal conquest and annexation of the Punjáb.

Shortly after this, the emperor Áhmed was deposed and blinded by Gháziudeen, the grandson of Ásaph Jáh, who now swayed the destinies of the empire as vizier, and by whom a grandson of Báhádur Sháh was raised to the throne under the name of Álumgíre II. Not content with this Gháziudeen also seized by deceit the person of the Dooráni governor of the Punjáb, in the hope of reannexing that province to the empire; and this led to the fourth invasion of India by Áhmed Sháh, in 1754, and to the occupation of Delhi. All the horrors of Nádir's invasion were repeated on this occasion, mainly because Áhmed, less cruel than Nádir, had not the same command over his troops, and could not prevent them from giving full exercise to their rapacity and violence. The place which

suffered most was Delhi, and the next to it, Mathoorá, where, during the height of a religious festival, a general massacre was made, in which a large number of inoffensive people were slain. An extension of operations in the direction of Oude and Ágrá was contemplated, but a mortality breaking out among the Afgháns enforced their retreat.

The departure of Áhmed Dooráni brought no peace to Delhi, as it restored to it all its internal feuds and disturbances. The invader had appointed Nujeeb-al-Dowláh, a Rohillá chief, commander-in-chief of the empire, intending that he should act as a counterpoise to the power of Gháziudeen ; but the latter upset the whole arrangement by calling in the Mahrattás to assist him. This was just the introduction the Mahrattás were waiting for. They advanced upon Delhi with alacrity to support the vizier, laid siege to the town and took it, and compelled Nujeeb-al-Dowláh to fly. They then proceeded to the Punjáb and recovered possession of it, and concerted with Gháziudeen a plan for the conquest of Oude.

The last scheme was frustrated by the fifth invasion of Áhmed Sháh, in 1760 ; and further confusion was created by the simultaneous murder of Álumgíre II. by Gháziudeen. Sháh Álum, the heir-apparent, was then absent in Bengal, and the operations against the Afgháns were therefore carried on without any ostensible head to direct them. Very little in fact was done by the Moguls to oppose the invaders ; and Áhmed Sháh again occupying Delhi laid the city under heavy contributions, the collection of which was enforced with such rigour and cruelty that the inhabitants took up arms in despair. This led to another massacre which lasted for seven days, after which the stench of the dead compelled the invaders to retire.

They now proceeded against the Mahrattás, who were nearly thirty thousand strong in Upper India, but divided into two bodies located at a distance from each other, and commanded separately by Jánokijee Scindíá and Mulhár Ráo Holkár. The hatred of the people towards the Mahrattás kept them in such ignorance of the movements of the Dooráni that both the divisions were successively surprised by him, defeated, and almost wholly destroyed.

The ruler of the Mahrattás at this time was Bálá Ráo, who led an easy life, the affairs of government being managed by Sudáseo Bháo, his home-minister and commander-in-chief in the Deccan. The conquest of Hindustán having been determined upon by him, the operations had been intrusted to Rughoonáth Ráo, commonly called Rághobá, aided by Mulhár Ráo and Jánokijee Scindíá acting under him. They were so far successful that several territories were acquired and the *chout* was in all places enforced; but the army under Rághobá falling into arrears of pay, became mutinous, which compelled him to return to the Deccan. The management of Rághobá was thereupon adversely criticised by the Bháo, a Mahrattá army being always expected to find its own pay; and, as Rághobá resented the remarks levelled against him, the return expedition into Hindustán had to be commanded by the Bháo himself, who carried Viswás Ráo, the son of Bálá Ráo, with him as nominal commander.

Áhmed Sháh Dooráni was cantoned on the banks of the Ganges when he heard of the advance of Sudáseo Bháo; and, as the Mahrattás made no secret of their wish to conquer the whole of Hindustán and extirpate the Mahomedans, he was there joined, not only by

Nujeeb-al-Dowláh, but by all the Páthán and Rohillá chiefs, with their forces. Even the nawáb of Oude, hitherto the least favourably disposed towards Áhmed Sháh, was prevailed upon by Nujeeb-al-Dowláh to join the Dooráni cause, on the plea that it would be improper for him as a Mahomedan either to join the Mahrattás in their war against Mahomedans, or to remain indifferept : and thus the cause of Áhmed Sháh became as that of the Mahomedans against the Hindus, the war assuming the character of one for nationality and faith.

The Bháo, on his side, was joined by Surya Mul, the chief of the Játs, who brought a reinforcement of thirty thousand men ; but Sudáseo exercised his authority so offensively that not only Surya Mul, but even his own Mahrattá generals, were very soon disgusted with his Bráhman pride. The advice of both Mulhár Ráo and Surya Mul was that the operations against the Afgháns be confined at the outset simply to harassing them in the usual Mahrattá fashion, till the return of the hot weather compelled them to retire of themselves, leaving an easy conquest to the Mahrattás. But the Bháo, being anxious to obtain reputation as a warrior, rejected the suggestion with haughtiness, remarking tauntingly of Mulhár Ráo that he had outlived his activity and understanding, and of Surya Mul that he was only a zemindár from whom greater courage was not to be expected. Surya Mul was so angry that he wished to desert at once ; but Mulhár Ráo dissuaded him from doing so, at the same time that he despised to resent the insult offered to himself.

Ágrá was first occupied by Sudáseo Bháo, and after it Delhi, the latter being retained as the capital on which the throne of the Mahrattás was to be established. The

Afgháns simultaneously occupied Anupshuhur. Affecting a moderation he did not actually entertain, the Bháo now proposed to settle differences amicably, and offered the Dooránis all the country between Afghánistán and Láhore, if they would march back to their own country in peace, leaving the rest of Hindustán to be occupied by the Mahrattás. But the offer was not an honest one, and nothing came of the negotiations, as neither party would agree to the sovereign name being arrogated by the other.

From Anupshuhur the united Afghán and Moslem army marched out to Sháh-derá, on the banks of the Jumná, but found the river to be impassable during the rains. The total strength of the army amounted to about forty-two thousand horse and thirty-eight thousand foot, with seventy or eighty pieces of cannon and a great number of rockets. There was also a large number of irregulars attached to the camp, who accompanied it mainly for plunder. The Hindu army was somewhat less numerous, counting about fifty-five thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, with two hundred pieces of cannon and rockets. It included fifteen thousand Pindáris, or freebooters, who were led by their own chiefs, and two or three thousand horse headed by the Ráhtore and Gutchwá *vakeels*.

As soon as the river fell, the Sháh's army began to cross the Jumná between fording and swimming over it, and it took the men two days for all to pass over. Had the Bháo boldly attacked them at this juncture he would probably have defeated them. But he did not do so, contenting himself by merely moving forward to meet them. For some time after there was nothing but skirmishing, till the Mahrattás came up to Pániput and intrenched themselves. The Sháh, doubting his ability to attack them, followed

their example, encamping at about eight miles from them, where he also intrenched himself. The precautions taken by the two parties were however very dissimilar. Unlike Mahrattá fashion generally, Sudáseo Bháo dug a ditch fifty feet wide and twelve deep around his camp, and raised a rampart which was mounted with cannon; while the Sháh simply surrounded the ground occupied by him with a breastwork of prostrate timber. An attempt made to cut off the supplies of the Sháh's army was entirely defeated. The Mahrattás succeeded better in the bold attacks they frequently hazarded against their enemies. In one of these the Holkár, at the head of fifteen thousand horse, broke into the midst of the Afghán intrenchment and cut down two thousand men; in another Bulwant Ráo assailed the Abdáli's vizier in the open field, and three thousand of the Rohillás who came to his rescue fell before Bulwant was slain. But these petty advantages were more than made up by the vigilance with which the Sháh watched the Mahrattás, who were so beset that a great scarcity of provisions and forage was soon felt in their camp, which in a manner compelled the Bháo to commence the fight. The armies were drawn up in divisions, the Mahrattá divisions being eight in number—namely, those under: (1) Ibrahim Khán Gardee, (2) Ámájee Guicowár, (3) Seo Deo Pátul, (4) Sudáseo Bháo and Viswas Ráo, (5) Jeswant Ráo Poár, (6) Shumshere Báhádoor, (7) Mulhár Ráo, and (8) Jánokijee Scindíá. The Dooráni divisions were eleven—namely, those under: (1) the Sháh himself, (2) Berkhardár Khán, (3) Ámeer Beg, (4) Doondy Khán, (5) Háfiz Ráhmút Khán, (6) Áhmed Khán Bungaish, (7) the Grand-Vizier, (8) the nawáb of Oude, (9) Nujeeb-al-Dowláh, (10) Sháh Pussund Khán, and (11) the division of the Persian musketeers.

The action was commenced by Ibrahim Khán Gardee attacking the divisions of Doondy Khán and Háfiz Ráhmút Khán. Ibrahim was well supported by Ámájee Guicowár, and the contest was obstinate till the Rohillás prevailed. The Bháo and Viswás Ráo next charged the grand-vizier, while Nujeeb-al-Dowláh was opposed by his mortal enemy, Jánokijee Scindia. After this the action became general, and great prodigies of valour were displayed on both sides. The close and violent attack lasted for nearly an hour, during which the combatants on both sides fought promiscuously with spears, swords, and battle-axes, and even with daggers. "Hur! Hur! Mahádeo!" was the Mahrattá cry of defiance; and terribly was it answered by the fanatic shout of "Deen! Deen!" which we, in our day, have so often heard in India. At last Viswas Ráo was killed, upon which the whole Mahrattá army was so dispirited that it fled at full speed from the field, leaving on it heaps of the slain. Áhmed Sháh rode round the field the following morning and counted thirty-two heaps of the dead, besides which all the ditches and jungles around it, and to a considerable distance from it, were full of them.

The chiefs who escaped destruction were: Mulhár Ráo Holkár, Ámájee Guicowár, and Seo Deo Pátul. The first alone, it was thought, did not put forth his whole strength in the battle, because of the insults he had received from the Bháo. He left the field just after the Bháo had pierced into the thickest of the fight, where he made amends for every misbehaviour and mistake by dying a soldier's death, his headless trunk being afterwards found hacked with innumerable wounds. The superior generalship of Holkár enabled him to extricate his party when all was thus lost, and to fly without being

pursued. The Mahrattá power was by this defeat completely broken for the time, though not altogether annihilated; while the Mogul power was both broken and extinguished for ever, its vast territories being split up into petty States. At a later period the Mahrattás were again able to recover Delhi for Sháh Álum; but not long after he fell into the hands of Golám Kádír, a Rohillá, by whom he was blinded. Once more was Delhi taken by the Mahrattás under Scindiá, and the person of Sháh Álum secured, which enabled them to arrogate the supreme authority in India; till the farce was finally terminated by the capital being captured by the English, in 1803.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE STRUGGLES BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH.

A.D. 1746 to 1761.

THE English settlement of Madrâspátám, or Madrás, on the Coromandel Coast, was founded, with the permission of the king of Golcondá, in 1639. The French settlement of Pondicherry was of later growth, having been originally founded at Alamparvá, in 1678, and afterwards more vigorously established at Pondicherry, in 1683. As the distance between the two settlements was about one hundred miles only, it was not very long before the rival nations found themselves involved in perpetual contests with each other in the east as in the west, till one of them had to go to the wall.

Their first great contest occurred in 1746, when, war having been declared between them in Europe, a French fleet under Labourdonnais attacked the British settlement and forced it to capitulate. The troops landed by the French were little short of two thousand men, while the English garrison counted two hundred soldiers only, besides a piebald population of Portuguese Indians, Syrian Christians, and Jews, all quite unaccustomed to the use of arms. The governor, therefore, considered it best to surrender after a bombardment of five days ; upon which the French admiral agreed to ransom both the town and

his prisoners for a compensation of 100,000 pagodas. This agreement, however, did not find favour with Monsieur Dupleix, the French Governor at Pondicherry, who claimed supreme authority over all French affairs in India; and, declaring it to be invalid, he forcibly held the garrison—which included Clive—as prisoners, and also plundered the settlement.

The English still possessed the settlement of Fort St. David on the Coromandel Coast, and the agents of the East India Company there being found to be active and alert in the furtherance of English interests, Dupleix resolved to close the rival shop by attacking it, and sent against it a European force of seventeen hundred men. The English garrison at the place was only three hundred strong; but they defended themselves vigorously to escape the fate of Madrás, and obtained the aid of the nawáb of the Cárnatíc in repelling their enemies. The position of the native princes in southern India at this time was as follows: A great part of India, we have elsewhere stated, never acknowledged any subjection to the throne of Delhi till the reign of Aurungzebe, and even at and after that period Bengal and the Deccan were virtually independent, being governed by viceroys who exercised all but absolute powers. The viceroy of the Deccan especially, was semi-independent, and held seven large provinces under him to which he appointed nawábs, or subordinate rulers; and the Cárnatíc was one of these provinces.

The nawáb of the Cárnatíc assisted the English with ten thousand men; and the French were obliged to retreat before them. But the friends thus gained were soon bought over by Dupleix, and changed sides; and, a demonstration made on Pondicherry by an English fleet

under Admiral Boscawen proving unsuccessful, the English had to succumb with a bad name—their prestige being lost for the time with the native States. There is no doubt that, at this time, the English might have been driven out of India for good by the French, if the latter had not been influenced in their operations by the events in Europe. Madrás was recovered by the English only in consequence of the peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748.

The simultaneous death shortly after of the nawáb of the Cárnatíc and the subadár, or viceroy, of the Deccan, under whom the nawábship was held, gave rise to considerable confusion in the native States, which again placed the English and the French in opposition to each other. The dominions of the nawáb were seized on his death by one Chundá Sáheb, a relative of the family, to the exclusion of Mahomed Áli, the rightful heir; while the subadárship of the Deccan was contended for by a son and a grandson of the deceased viceroy, named respectively Názir Jung and Mozuffer Jung. Of these latter rivals Mozuffer Jung befriended Chundá Sáheb, and was supported by the French; upon which the English took up the side of Názir Jung and Mahomed Áli.

A mutiny in the French army depriving Mozuffer Jung of its support for a time, Názir Jung at first became subadár of the Deccan, and Mahomed Áli, nawáb of the Cárnatíc. But this arrangement was upset on the English quarrelling with Mahomed Áli about the payment of their troops, advantage of which was taken by the French to attack both Mahomed Áli and Názir Jung; and, the latter being murdered by one of his own chiefs, Mozuffer Jung became subadár, and Chundá Sáheb nawáb of the Cárnatíc. Dupleix was, at the same time, declared Governor of

Southern India, from Cape Comorin to the Kristná river, besides which he was appointed to the command of seven thousand horse under the subadár, which was accounted as one of the highest honours that could be conferred by the latter.

The success of the French filled the English with envy; and the desperate affairs of Mahomed Áli rendering him open to a renewal of alliance with him, they volunteered to assist him in the defence of Trichinopoly, where he was hard-pressed by the forces of Chundá Sáheb and the French. But the assistance given was not of much value; the English soldiers behaved in an exceedingly un-English and cowardly manner; they actually deserted their native allies, who were left to do battle alone. The result was a signal defeat, and retreat within the walls of Trichinopoly for safety, the siege of it being continued by the French. The conduct of the siege was not very vigorous; but, such as it was, the English had neither enterprise nor courage to repel it.

It was now that the genius of Clive appeared on the scene. He had intermediately got transferred from the civil to the military service of the Company, and now came forward with the bright idea of relieving Trichinopoly by a diversion, and with that object offered to lead an expedition direct to Árcot, the capital of the Cárnatíc. The offer was accepted, and he was placed at the head of two hundred Europeans and three hundred sepoys, and with this small force succeeded in capturing both the town and citadel of Árcot, notwithstanding all the endeavours made by Chundá Sáheb and the French to prevent him. He was then, in his turn, besieged by the French and their allies with a large army of one hundred and fifty Europeans and nine thousand native troops; but he made a gallant defence for

fifty days, after which the contest was terminated in favour of the weaker party, the stronger being obliged to raise the siege.

Clive now took the field at the head of two hundred Europeans and seven hundred sepoys. A European party was sent out from Pondicherry against him, but was defeated at Árni; after which he attacked the great pagodá of Conjeverám, where the French maintained a considerable garrison, which was forced to fly. By this time Árcot had been reoccupied by Chundá Sáheb and the French, who extended their raids thence into English territory. Clive therefore repaired to it again, but was held in check by a furious cannonade on his advance-guard, upon which he determined to seize the enemy's artillery, and succeeded in doing so by boldly surprising it behind a thick grove of mango trees, which so disheartened Chundá Sáheb and his army that they were entirely dispersed.

The next expedition was directed against the French and Chundá Sáheb operating before Trichinopoly. It was commanded by Major Lawrence in chief, with Clive as second in command, and was fully successful, the enemy being obliged to raise the siege, and to fall back on the island of Seringham, in the Cauvery. The English forces were now divided into two bodies, one of which remained at Trichinopoly under Major Lawrence, while the other under Clive proceeded to cut off the communication between Pondicherry and Seringham. An attempt made from Seringham to prevent this was signally defeated; the French, on reappearing before Trichinopoly, were also worsted; and, Chundá Sáheb being captured and assassinated by the rájáh of Tanjore, Mahomed Áli was reseated on the *musnud* of Árcot. The English also

gained a victory at Báhoor, two miles from St. David, and reduced two forts, named Covelong and Chingleput.

In 1753, a second campaign was opened by Dupleix setting up another rival to Mahomed Áli in Murtezá Khán, the governor of Vellore. The French army that took the field in support of the new claimant was composed of five hundred European infantry and sixty horse, and two thousand sepoy, aided by four thousand Mahrattá cavalry under Murári Ráo, independent of the large forces still operating before Trichinopoly. The army under Major Lawrence consisted of five hundred Europeans, two thousand sepoy, and three thousand of the nawáb's forces; out of which seven hundred sepoy were employed in searching for supplies. The French force was shortly after still further increased by the addition of large reinforcements from Mysore; and the early operations of Major Lawrence were, for these reasons, generally unsuccessful, though distinguished by exceptional acts of great valour, such as the capture of the "Golden Rock" by the British Grenadiers, notwithstanding that it was occupied by the bulk of the French army. Throughout the contest the provisioning of Trichinopoly was the principal object held in view by the British commander, and this was fully effected though the siege was protracted for a year and a half. When he was afterwards reinforced he was able also to take Wycondáh, a place of great strength. But more decisive advantages were not obtained by either party in this campaign.

In 1754, Mons. Godhen was sent out from France to supersede Dupleix and terminate hostilities with the English. This led to the siege of Trichinopoly being raised, and to the cessation of all acts of unfriendliness on both sides; and the interval was usefully employed by the

English in straightening their affairs in Bengal, where the battle of Plássey was fought in 1757. Intermediately, war was again declared between the two nations in Europe, in 1756; and it was recommenced in the Cárnatíc in the spring of 1757, when, Trichinopoly being once more besieged by the French, Capt. Calliaud relieved it with great skill and heroism, compelling an army five times as numerous as his own to raise the siege and retire to Pondicherry. It was at this time that Count Lally, an Irishman, and one of the victors at Fontenoy, was sent out as Governor-General of the French possessions in India, bringing out with him a strong fleet and a fresh body of land forces, mostly Irish—who had fought under him at Fontenoy. This infused new vigour among the French, and an army of two thousand and five hundred Europeans was collected, the most formidable that India had yet seen. Fort St. David was now invested and captured, and that was followed by the reduction of Devicottáh and Cuddalore. An attack on Madrás was also made, and the Black Town carried by assault; but in the plunder a quantity of arrack was found, in which the French soldiers indulged so gloriously that a *sortie* made by the English, from the English part of the town, succeeded beyond all expectations, and put them to flight. The general operations against the settlement were, nevertheless, still continued, the total French force employed in them consisting of six hundred European infantry and three hundred European cavalry, with twelve hundred sepoy and five hundred native horse; while the English garrison numbered one hundred Europeans and two thousand and five hundred sepoy. But the siege, though prolonged for two months, was not successful; and Lally was obliged to raise it on the arrival of Admiral Pococke with

reinforcements from Bombay. The English in their turn now became the assailants, and pursuing the French army to Conjeverám, took the place by assault.

The subadár of the Deccan at this moment was Salábut Jung, whom the French had raised to the *musnud* on the death of Mozuffer Jung. He was absolutely the protégé of the French : but, when Bussy, the French Commander in the Deccan, was recalled by Lally to Pondicherry, a rapid succession of events took place which ruined the interests of the French in the Deccan, and compelled the subadár to solicit an alliance with the English. An expedition from Bengal, fitted out by the English against the Northern Circárs, drove the French entirely out of that territory ; and a petty rájá named Anunderáj, having attacked and taken possession of Vizigápatám, offered his conquest to the English, which was occupied by a detachment sent to it by Clive, which defeated the French at Peddápore, and again at Másulipatám, the fort at the latter place being taken at the point of the bayonet. As a result of these victories the entire country dependent on Másulipatám was made over to the English by Salábut Jung, who at the same time renounced the French alliance. Some naval engagements also took place between the English fleet under Pococke and the French fleet under D'Aché, but none of a very decisive character. The French were more hard-pressed by their pecuniary difficulties and the mutinies which broke out among their troops for want of pay, the chief malcontents being the Irish, who contended that they had accomplished more in battle than the whole of the French troops taken together, and had alone encountered the English with success.

The only triumph gained by the French at this time was the seizure of the island of Seringham ; but

this they were shortly after obliged to abandon for the defence of Árcot, which Col. Coote pretended to threaten. The French were thus thrown off their guard at Wándewásh, which was assaulted by Coote and carried; after which Caranjaly and other places were also reduced. All the French forces were now concentrated at Árcot, where the two armies faced each other in the commencement of 1760. Lally then attempted the recapture of Wándewásh, while Coote advanced to relieve it. The English army was composed of nineteen hundred Europeans, two thousand and one hundred sepoy, and twelve hundred and fifty native cavalry. The European force of the French numbered two thousand two hundred and fifty men, and their sepoy thirteen hundred; besides which they had a corps of Mahrattá cavalry in their service, which however did not even approach the field. Numerically, the French army was therefore inferior to the English army opposed to it; but it was at the same time much superior in European strength. On the other hand, the English artillery, consisting of twenty-six field-pieces, was better officered and manned, Lally's engineers and artillery being both equally inferior. His sole reliance in fact was on his Irish infantry and French cavalry—the latter of which proved to be a broken reed. The battle of Wándewásh was the last and best fought action between the two rival nations in India—the great engagement which finally decided the struggle between them for the dominion of the East. Lally fought well, doing full justice to his Fontenoy reputation; but he was early deserted by his cavalry. His infantry rushed madly forward to meet the English, but were beaten back in a most sanguinary and terrible manner. They rallied, and, charging with the

bayonet, broke the English line ; but, not being supported either by their cavalry or their sepoy, were repulsed again and again, and after a bloody engagement were obliged to fly. The defeat of the French was complete ; but the English were too exhausted to attempt a pursuit. Lally even succeeded in carrying off his wounded and his light baggage in the face of the enemy ; but the best portion of his cannon, ammunition, and stores was lost. After this, the fort of Chittápet was carried by the English, and Arcot was invested and restored to the nawáb. Several minor places were also captured, till nothing remained to the French but the strong fort of Jinjee, and the settlement of Pondicherry, the last of which was regularly invested both by sea and land. The garrison at Pondicherry being unable to defend themselves, and at the same time straitened for food, were, after a short, but spirited resistance, obliged to surrender. The fortresses of Jhiágurh and Jinjee were next given up without a fight, which entirely extinguished the French power in the Cárnatic. Máhé and its dependencies on the Malabár Coast were next surrendered, and, by 1761, the French had neither any military force nor local possessions in India beyond their trading factories at Calicut and Surát. Pondicherry and Máhé were subsequently restored to them by the treaty of 1764, and now constitute their sole possessions in India.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE ACQUISITION OF BENGAL AND BEHÁR.

A.D. 1756 TO 1765.

THE English factories in Bengal were consolidated, and a fortress built at Calcuttá with the permission of Ázimoo-shán, grandson of Aurungzebe, between 1695 and 1700. In 1756, Áli Verdy Khán, the best subadár of Bengal, died, and was succeeded by his grandson Mirza Mahomed, better known by his assumed name of Soorájá-Dowláh. The new subadár was known to entertain unfavourable feelings towards the English, and it is said that those feelings were derived from his grandfather, who, notwithstanding the moderation of his government, had looked with distrust on the English power. The first offence given to Soorájá-Dowláh by the Company was the non-recognition of an order issued by him for the surrender of one Kissen Dass, the son of his treasurer at Dáccá, who had fled with his family and property to Calcuttá for protection. Shortly after, the nawáb heard that the English were strengthening their fortifications, upon which he sent them a message to desist. The English vindicated their proceedings on the ground of apprehended hostilities with the French; but, the excuse being rejected, the nawáb appeared in arms before the factory at Cossimbazár, and reduced it.

The fall of Cossimbazár filled the garrison at Calcuttá with dismay, as their number amounted only to two hundred men, of whom not more than one-third were Europeans. The place was also ill-protected, the stock of provisions in it was well-nigh exhausted, and the supply of ammunition was insufficient. Assistance was therefore applied for from Madrás; but this necessarily took a long time to come, while it took no time for the subadár to march down from Cossimbazár to Calcuttá. The emergency was great, and the servants of the Company got frightened; and the higher functionaries, with the females in the settlement, fled for protection to the shipping in the port, and dropped down the river. The rest, thus abandoned to their fate, after vainly endeavouring to call back the ships, defended the settlement as they best could for two days; after which the enemy entered it, and perpetrated the well-known tragedy which has made the name of the Black-Hole infamous and immortal. The Hole however was an English, and not a native place of confinement; so that the English garrison only got "hoist with their own petard." As Mill significantly points out "Had no Black-Hole existed those who perished in it would have experienced a different fate."

All was lost in Bengal before Madrás knew what had occurred; and when she did know of it, there was disagreement in her council—not as to the course to be pursued, which was agreed upon quickly—but as to the manner in which operations were to be carried out, and in which the prizes expected were to be divided! After much discussion the differences on these points were resolved, and it was determined to send Clive to punish the subadár, vesting him with powers to act independently of the authorities in Calcuttá. The troops placed under

Clive amounted to nine hundred Europeans and fifteen hundred sepoys, and were conveyed by a squadron commanded by Admiral Watson, which consisted of five ships-of-war, and five transport-vessels. Two of the ships got separated from the rest in a storm, so that even the whole of the little force sent out was not at once available in Calcuttá. The nawáb threatened to attack it with his whole army; but, before he actually did anything, Calcuttá was re-occupied by the English, after a two hours' cannonade, the garrison flying before them in dismay. Clive then detached a force to attack Hooghly, and the fleet co-operating in the enterprise, the fort was taken by assault, the enemy offering a poor resistance.

Intermediately, war had been declared between England and France, and, in accordance with his instructions in the event of such a contingency, Clive marched to attack Chandernagore, the fleet under Watson coming alongside of the batteries of the settlement. The tortuous policy of the times does not exhibit this affair in the best light. The French did not side with the nawáb, as they might have done, when Calcuttá was retaken by the English; and the English, doubting their strength to take Chandernagore, had concluded a treaty with the French of neutrality and peace. Fresh troops however arrived from Bombay and Madras, before the treaty was signed, and this induced Clive to carry out his original orders; upon which Chandernagore was attacked and occupied after an obstinate resistance offered by a garrison of nine hundred Frenchmen.

The game carried on between the nawáb and the English was also of a similar character. The success of Áhmed Sháh Dooráni at Delhi had filled the former with apprehension, it being expected that the invader would

extend his conquests to the east and south ; and this kept the nawáb quiet during the contest between the English and the French. On the defeat of the latter, his fear of the English was revived, and he hastened to enter into a treaty with them for restoring their factories, with all the privileges hitherto enjoyed by them, and with many others not accorded before. But these advances were all false and insincere, and they were met by the English in a kindred spirit, by a hypocritical affectation of friendliness for the nawáb, while negotiations were being carried on by them with Meer Jáffer, a traitor, who was plotting the destruction of his master. Meer Jáffer promised every concession the English asked for, and the English bound themselves to assist him and drive out Soorájá-Dowláh from the country. Jáffer, however, gave no material assistance in the struggle which followed ; though doubtless the English received from him as much “moral” and “immoral” support as they stood in need of. The battle of Plássey was fought on the 23rd June, 1757, between the English and the subadár’s troops, the latter being well assisted by a small party of French soldiers led by one Mons. Sinfray. The English army consisted of eight hundred Europeans, two thousand and one hundred sepoy, and a small number of Portuguese, with eight field-pieces and two howitzers. The nawáb’s army was vast in numbers, being computed by some at fifty-five and by others at sixty-eight thousand men ; but most of them were undisciplined recruits. It had fifty guns of the largest calibre, which the forty or fifty Frenchmen in it only knew how to use. The result of the battle therefore was such as might well have been anticipated. The immense host of the nawáb, instead of advancing to attack their enemies,

halted and opened a fire on them from a distance ; but the guns were worked so badly that not one shot had effect. The Frenchmen worked their field-pieces better ; but they were not supported, and, from the smallness of their numbers, could make no impression by themselves. On the other hand, the English artillery replied with fearful effect, and, being at first chiefly directed against the French guns, soon silenced them ; after which Clive ordered his whole force to advance, which at once put Soorájá-Dowláh to flight. The little band of Frenchmen fought very bravely, but were soon swept from the field ; while the rest of the army hurried from it helter-skelter, in precipitate fear. Thus was the battle of Plássey lost and won. The loss on the side of the English was seventy-two killed and wounded. Of the nawáb's army five hundred perished, chiefly from the effects of the artillery-practice to which we have referred, since not one man waited for closer fight.

Meer Jáffer kept aloof during the engagement to stand well with both parties, but came forward when it was decided, to claim the reward promised to him ; upon which Clive saluted him as subadár, being determined to oust Soorájá-Dowláh, who fled in the vain hope of being able to join the French. The fugitive was discovered by a man whom he had formerly treated with cruelty, and being captured, was killed by order of Meer Jáffer's son.

The battle of Plássey settled the fate of Bengal. It does not concern us to unravel all the political intricacies of the period, which led to the alternate selection of Jáffer and Cossim as subadár. In 1759, the intrigues of the former with the Dutch brought up a powerful armament from Batavia, conveyed in seven ships, to fight with the English. The English had only three merchant-vessels

in the port to oppose them, but these were found fully sufficient for the purpose, and after two hours' fighting the Dutch commodore struck his colours, upon which all his ships were captured. The troops landed from the ships had in the meantime been joined by the Dutch garrison at Chinsuráh, and, marching out for battle, were encountered near Bedárrá, by Col. Forde, and completely defeated, though the Dutch army counted eight hundred Europeans and seven hundred Malays, while the English army had only four hundred Europeans and eight hundred sepoys. The battle was so decisive that nearly five hundred prisoners were taken. Chinsuráh, however, was not occupied: it was left to the Dutch on their agreeing to the humiliating conditions dictated to them, of never engaging in war or raising fortifications without English permission, and of never retaining more than one hundred and twenty-five European soldiers for the service of their several factories at Chinsuráh, Cossimbazár, and Pátná.

Meer Jáffer was now deposed from the subadárship on the pretext of non-fulfilment of his engagements with the English, and his son-in-law, Cossim, was raised to replace him. During the troubles which ensued two incursions were made into Bengal from Delhi by Sháh Álum, one as heir-apparent to the throne, and the other after he had succeeded to it as emperor. They were both directed against the subadár, whose promotion to that office had not been recognised by the court of Delhi; but they were mainly resisted and repelled by the English, who supported the cause of their nominee. The prisoners taken on the second occasion included a party of French soldiers headed by Mons. Law, who had fought with great heroism after being abandoned by the imperial army.

In 1763, Meer Cossim, having been found to be unaccommodating, was, in his turn, deposed, and Meer Jáffer reinstated. But Cossim did not yield without striking a blow; and, on Pátná being captured and Moorshedabad stormed by the English, he drew out his forces in line of battle on the plains of Gheriáh, near Sootee. The army of Cossim was computed at sixty thousand, while the English army opposed to it scarcely numbered three thousand men. The attack was commenced by the English, in their usual manner; but unlike the usual reception they had hitherto met with, they were now opposed with the greatest obstinacy. For a long time the battle was fought on equal terms, and on one occasion the English line was broken and some guns were captured. But the mishap was soon remedied; and the English renewing their assault with redoubled fury the troops of the nawáb were worsted, and after a desperate conflict defeated at all points and put to flight. In this action a Bengali, named Shitáb Rái, distinguished himself greatly by his gallantry on the English side. The immediate result of the victory was the capture of a large quantity of rice and grain, which met an emergent need. The routed army hurried towards Outánallá, a fort between the river and the hills, which was taken by the English after great slaughter. Monghyr, the capital of Cossim, was next attacked and captured. He was thence pursued to Pátná which was stormed, and his army pursued to the banks of the Karmanássá.

At this time a mutiny broke out among Meer Jáffer's troops and those of the English; but it was put down summarily and with great severity, the offenders being blown away from guns. Meer Cossim having in the meantime found an ally in the vizier of Oude, the next engagement with him was fought at Buxár, in 1764.

The British force engaged in the battle consisted of eight hundred and sixty Europeans, five thousand and three hundred sepoy, and nine hundred native cavalry, with a train of artillery counting twenty field-pieces; while the total force of the enemy was estimated at between forty and sixty thousand men. The action was maintained for three hours, after which the enemy gave way. The British army was divided into two columns to pursue them; but its efforts were frustrated by the vizier sacrificing one portion of his army to preserve the rest. At two miles from the battle-field was a rivulet over which a bridge of boats had been constructed. This the enemy destroyed before the rear had passed over, by which about two thousand of their own men were drowned or otherwise killed: but it saved the main body of the army, together with all the treasure and jewels of both Meer Cossim and the vizier.

The battle of Buxár made the English masters of Behár. The Emperor Sháh Álum, hitherto treated as a prisoner by the vizier, now solicited their protection, which was extended to him. The tide of conquest rolled on, and Chunárgurh and Alláhábád were taken; after which the vizier, having obtained the support of the Mahrattás, again ventured to show fight, but, being defeated once more, was finally subdued, and solicited for terms. Fifty lakhs of rupees were asked from and paid by him as indemnification for the expenses of the war; and the emperor at the same time conferred on the English the *Dewánný*, or revenues, of Bengal, Behár, and Orissá, together with the possession of all territories conquered by them within the limits of the Mogul Empire. The recognised sovereignty of the English was thus inaugurated in 1765.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE WARS WITH HYDER ÁLI AND TIPPOO SULTÁN.

A.D. 1766 TO 1799.

WHILE Bengal and Behár were being acquired by the English, a formidable power was consolidating itself in the Cárnatíc for again contesting with them the sovereignty of the Coromandel coast. Hyder Áli was the son of a soldier of fortune, and entered the service of the Hindu rájáh of Mysore as a volunteer. Distinguishing himself soon by his courage and address he collected around him a large body of freebooters, which enabled him to vie on equal terms with greater chiefs. He was thus helped to secure the office of *fouzdár* of Dindigul, and, having succeeded in repelling an attack of the Mahrattás, was made commander-in-chief of the Mysore army.

The king of Mysore was exceedingly indolent and imbecile, and was ruled entirely by his *dewán*, a Bráhmañ, named Nunjeráj. The arrogance of this man had latterly given offence to his master, who was anxious, but had not the power, to get rid of him. At this juncture Hyder came forward to assist him, intrigues were circumvented by intrigues, and Nunjeráj was sacrificed and Hyder elevated. The king had, however, little cause to congratulate himself. Hyder arrogated as much power

as Nunjeráj had ever assumed, and at the same time broke up the Mysore army to augment his own. All the authority of the Mysore Government was, in this way, gradually appropriated by the adventurer.

The old rájáh dying, his son was raised to succeed him, Hyder affecting to disdain the equipage of royalty at the time. But he went on increasing and consolidating his power, and was in a short time able to set aside his master, and proclaim himself Sultán of Mysore. The rapidity of his aggrandisement now made him a general object of envy; and, in 1766, the Nizám and the Mahrattás resolved to curtail his strength. A confederacy was formed for this purpose, and, the English being bound by treaty to support the Nizám against his enemies, were obliged to join it. For some time Hyder repelled force by force, till, finding the opposition very strong against him, he had recourse to intrigue, and persuaded the Mahrattás that it would better suit the interests of all parties, if a combined attack were made for the expulsion of the English, who had no business to be in India. The bait took, and the confederacy was changed to one for the subversion of foreign authority in the country.

The army of Hyder was about two hundred thousand, and that of the Nizám about one hundred thousand strong; but the only formidable portions of these forces were a cavalry corps counting twenty thousand troopers, and a French contingent of seven hundred and fifty men. The campaign was opened by the country about Mysore being ravaged by Tippoo, the son of Hyder; after which Hyder himself appeared before the fort of Trincomálly, where he was opposed by Col. Smith. The English force consisted of fourteen hundred European infantry, thirty European cavalry, nine thousand sepoy,

and fifteen hundred native cavalry. The strength of the enemy was roughly estimated at seventy thousand men, of whom more than half were mounted. The first struggle was for the possession of a hill which was carried by the English. It was followed by a regular battle, in which the well-directed fire of the English artillery made up for other deficiencies, and the allies were completely defeated. Hyder, with the sagacity of his keen intellect, perceived when the engagement was lost; but his ally, the Nizám, being still in hopes of victory, refused to leave the field, which made their loss very heavy. Another defeat was sustained immediately after before Amboár, a place peculiarly situated, being built upon a mountain of smooth granite. Hyder laid siege to it; but it was ably defended by Capt. Calvert, till the arrival of Col. Smith, when Hyder was obliged to raise the siege. These reverses induced the Nizám to change sides, especially on account of his country having been simultaneously entered by the English from the side of Bengal; and, by this treachery, he gained all the advantages he had lost, the English agreeing to hold the *Dewánný* of Mysore under him, and to pay tribute for it when they conquered it.

The operations against Hyder were continued, and Col. Wood succeeded in reducing several places, such as Barámahal, Sálem, Coimbatore, and Dindigul, which however, from the fewness of his troops and other causes, he was unable to retain. The success of Col. Smith was more marked, and the fortresses of Kristnágurhi, Mulwágul, and Colár, submitted to him in rapid succession, while he gained an important accession of strength by an alliance with the Mahrattás under Murári Ráo. This led to an attempt at negotiation, which, however, fell

through, because the British authorities wanted much more than Hyder was prepared to yield.

Hyder's antipathy against the English being now greatly aggravated, led to some desperate attacks, by which Coimbatore was retaken by his general Fuzzulooláh Khán, and Barámahal by himself. Eroád and Cáuveriporám were also forced to surrender; and, while Fuzzulooláh went araiding in the direction of Madrá and Tinnevely, his master ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of the Cáuvery, till he appeared by a rapid detour within five miles of Madrás. This frightened the Madrás Government to patch up an offensive and defensive alliance with him in 1769, on the condition of a mutual restoration of conquests, and of placing the possessions of both parties on the footing they occupied previous to the war, to which Hyder agreed simply because he wanted time to mature his schemes.

Hyder next got embroiled with the Mahrattás, who, under Mádoó Ráo, entered his dominions and ravaged them. He solicited assistance from the English, on the force of the treaty referred to; but the appeal was disregarded, and from that moment he hated the English with the bitterest hatred. At this crisis war broke out between France and England in consequence of the American war of independence, and, while the English pounced upon Pondicherry and Máhé, the French determined to aid the arms of Hyder against their enemies. The second campaign was accordingly opened by Hyder, in 1780, at the head of twenty-eight thousand cavalry, a battalion of French soldiers, eleven battalions of country-born Portuguese, twenty-three battalions of sepoys, an immense train of artillery, and an innumerable host of irregulars, exclusive of thirty thousand chosen troops detached under

Tippoo for ravaging the Malabár coast. The British forces at this time were scattered in detachments all over the country. Of these the most numerous and best-equipped party was that under Col. Baillie, which was intercepted by Hyder in its attempt to join the army under Sir Hector Munro, at Conjeverám. Notwithstanding these disadvantages the English fought well, repulsing thirteen different attacks of the enemy; but the superiority in numbers on the enemy's side was too great to get over, and they were at last obliged to submit, when the only humanity shown to them was that which proceeded from the French officers in the enemy's service, or what was obtained by their intercession.

After this Árcot was reduced by Hyder, and Wándewásh, Vellore, and Chingleput were besieged; while the English at Madrás, seized with terror, seriously contemplated returning to England, or flying over to Bengal. The reins of government in Bengal were, however, now in strong hands; and, when news of the disaster reached Warren Hastings, he at once sent over a reinforcement of five hundred and sixty Europeans under Sir Eyre Coote, promising to despatch a sepoy army in addition without delay. The forces placed under Coote on his arrival at Madrás, numbered seven thousand men, of whom seventeen hundred were Europeans. These numbers were inconsiderable as compared with those commanded by the enemy; but it was, nevertheless, necessary to do something with them, to check the harassing warfare carried on by Hyder Áli, by which the country had already been converted into a desert. To this end the fortresses of Chingleput, Caranjaly, Permácoil, and Wándewásh were at once successively relieved; but, as these rapid movements necessarily exhausted his

little army, Coote determined to risk a general action for weakening the enemy, and was soon able to do so. Encouraged by the appearance of a French fleet on the coast, Hyder had intrenched his army strongly near Cuddalore. The position was exceedingly formidable, but Coote, being determined to carry it, led his men thither through a passage cut through the sand-hills by Hyder himself for surprising the English flank, and was able to draw them up in the face of several powerful batteries and a vast body of cavalry. The attack thus risked was hotly resisted, and the battle raged for six hours, every inch of ground being stubbornly fought for. The combatants on the English side amounted to eight thousand, and on the side of the enemy to about sixty thousand men; but, eventually, the latter were obliged to give way, Hyder himself being forced to fly. He returned in a short time to renew the fight, choosing a fresh position near Pollilor, where Col. Baillie had before been defeated by him. But the result on the present occasion was not similar. A very bloody engagement took place, which was so indecisive that both parties claimed the victory; but the Mysoreans were obliged to yield up their position, which the English reached by passing over the dead bodies of their yet unburied countrymen. On the other hand, a more signal triumph was gained at this time by Tippoo over Col. Braithewaite, at Coleroon, where the English army, consisting of two thousand men, was surprised, defeated, and obliged to surrender; and Hyder Áli also, being shortly after joined by a strong body of French troops, successfully besieged Cuddalore, which was recaptured without resistance. Hyder then proceeded to attack Wándewásh and Vellore; but the appearance of Coote to relieve the latter place induced

him, after a distant cannonade, to retire towards Pondicherry. After these movements some successes were gained by Tippoo on the side of Malabár, when the operations in every direction were suddenly closed by the death of Hyder Áli, in 1782.

The Government of Madrás was anxious to take advantage of the confusion that followed, but was prevented from doing so by the violent dissensions then prevailing between the civil and military authorities acting under it. These gave time to Tippoo to recommence operations; but he withdrew from the Cárnatic to the Malabár coast, which appeared to him to have become, for the time, the more important theatre of hostilities. The remaining enemy of the English on the Coromandel coast were the French, who had again got together a numerous army under Bussy, which was located at Cuddalore. The position was attacked and carried by the English under Gen. Stuart, but at a considerable sacrifice of lives; and Suffrein, the French Admiral, having succeeded soon after in landing another large reinforcement, the prospects of the English looked very gloomy, when intelligence arrived of peace having been concluded between the two nations in Europe, which terminated all offensive operations between them in India likewise. On the Malabár coast Gen. Mathews succeeded in capturing Bednore, in 1783, with treasure exceeding 800,000*l*. But, his success making him unwary, Tippoo was soon able to circumvent him, and with the aid of a French engineer, named Cossigny, retook Bednore, and, not finding his treasure in it, placed all his prisoners in irons and ill-treated them. Mangalore was next invested by him, and surrendered after a protracted defence, the garrison being allowed to withdraw with all the honours of war. Another place,

Onore, was also similarly invested, and defended; but, Tippoo being now deserted by his French officers, who withdrew from his army on account of the good understanding established between France and England in Europe, a hasty peace was concluded, which saved the honour of the garrison and its intrepid commander.

It was not possible, however, for this peace to last long. The actual power of Tippoo extended now nearly over the whole of India south of the Toombuddrá, while his pretensions already exceeded all bounds. These involved him, in 1785, in a war with the Mahrattás and the Nizám; and, when that was settled, he got up a quarrel with the rájáh of Travancore, in 1788. This prince was in alliance with the English, and the English Government hastened to inform Tippoo that hostilities with him would be regarded as a declaration of war with themselves. But Tippoo cared little for the threat, and attacked Travancore with an army of thirty-five thousand men. The resistance received by him was greater than he had expected. He was at first repulsed and fled; but the defeat was afterwards retrieved, and, the Travancore troops being worsted, the whole country lay at the mercy of the victor, which, as usual with him, was misused.

The Marquess of Cornwallis now determined once for all to humble the power of Mysore. A fresh treaty, offensive and defensive, was to that end concluded with the Nizám and the Peishwá, and a British army of fifteen thousand men was assembled under Gen. Meadows, at Trichinopoly, in 1790. The object held in view was to advance upon Seringápatám, to effect which operations were begun by reducing the sultán's strong places in the low country. The fortresses of Eroád, Pálgaut, Dindigul, and Sattimungul were successively taken, and the posses-

sion of the Gujelháttý pass was secured, which gave access to the heart of the enemy's country. Tippoo in the meanwhile swept through the Cárnatic, burning and destroying everything in his way, and, approaching Pondicherry, endeavoured to open negotiations with the French. He even sent proposals to Louis XVI., offering to destroy the English army and settlements in India provided the aid of six thousand French troops were given to him ; but the king refused to agree. " This resembles the affair of America," he said, " which I never think of without regret. My youth was taken advantage of at that time, and we suffer for it now. The lesson was too severe to be so quickly forgotten." Tippoo was consequently thrown on his own resources alone, but was not the less triumphant on that account, till Lord Cornwallis having entered the table-land of Mysore, took him completely by surprise.

The second campaign was opened in 1791, Tippoo making his first stand at Bangalore, where he had removed his women and treasures. The fortress was too extensive to be invested ; but it was carried by the English by breach and battery, after a heroic resistance on the part of the garrison. The English army experienced great difficulties now from want of stores and the inadequate supply of cattle for transport, but nevertheless passed on to Malávellý and thence to Arikerá, a distance of nine miles from Seringápatám. This alarmed Tippoo greatly. He drew up his army, hitherto engaged in desultory warfare, to cover his capital, its right wing being protected by the Cáuvery and its left by a chain of hills. The difficulties of attacking the position were great ; but Lord Cornwallis determined to hazard them. The progress of the British force was slow, but requisite disposition for

action was eventually attained, and an attack risked in the middle of May. The contest on both sides was obstinately maintained ; but, on coming to close combat, steel to steel, the English carried by successive charges, one point after another, till the whole of Tippoo's army was obliged to fly and seek shelter under the fortifications of Seringápatám. But the victory was attained at great cost, the army had marched through a desert, and was suffering fearfully from famine and disease, and the British commander soon found himself obliged to retire for the time, and to destroy the whole of his battering-train and equipments. An opportune junction with the Mahrattá armies under Pursarám Bháo and Hurry Punt relieved the hardships suffered to a considerable extent, the Mahrattá commissariat being as excellent as that of the English was execrable. The fortress of Hooleádroog was then taken, after which the army passed on for rest to Bangalore.

Operations were recommenced shortly after by the capture of the fortresses of Oussoor and Nundidroog, the latter of which offered a spirited resistance. The army then passed through a tract of hills covered with wood and studded with forts, of which that called Sávindroog, or the Rock of Death, was the strongest. This was carried by assault, which caused Tippoo the greatest alarm and astonishment, as he had always regarded it as absolutely impregnable. Then followed the capture of another strong fort named Ootradroog, and of other inferior fortresses which did not even attempt to resist ; while all that Tippoo was able to achieve was the reduction of Coimbatore, which yielded after a remarkable defence made by a very small garrison for one hundred and forty-three days.

The way being thus cleared for an advance on Seringápatám, Lord Cornwallis ordered Gen. Abercrombie to

approach it early in 1792. The army under his lordship amounted at this moment to twenty-two thousand men, with a train of forty-two battering-guns, and forty-four field-pieces, while that under Gen. Abercrombie amounted to eight thousand and four hundred men. The Mahrattá armies would have greatly augmented these forces; but they found it more profitable to undertake plundering expeditions on their own account which could not be prevented, and the plan of attack was therefore not communicated to them. The Mysore army still consisted of forty-five thousand infantry, five thousand cavalry, and one hundred pieces of cannon; and with these formidable numbers Tippoo awaited the struggle in front of Seringápatám.

An immediate and general attack being determined upon, it was undertaken at night for the greater certainty of surprise. The attacking army was formed into three columns, the centre column being commanded by Lord Cornwallis in person. The operations were so well conducted that the assailants forded the Cáuvery and passed into Seringápatám, which is an island, before the enemy were fully aware of their danger. This was followed by a series of rapid and complicated movements which confounded and disheartened them; but nevertheless, when day broke the guns of the fort opened a severe fire, and a very obstinate resistance was offered. The first post of strength attacked was the "Sultán's Redoubt," which was taken after dreadful carnage. The Lálbágh, which contained the mausoleum of Hyder, was next assailed and captured. This, being a magnificent garden, supplied materials for the siege of the city, which was now invested on its two principal sides, Gen. Abercrombie and Pursarám Bháo having obtained access to them through the Gujelháttý pass. The conflicts which followed con-

stituted a great and continuous battle, one of the grandest and severest ever fought in India. But Tippoo was finally worsted and reduced, and solicited peace, which was granted to him on the surrender of half his dominions, the payment of three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees, and the delivery of two of his sons as hostages.

The sultán of Mysore was humiliated, and the final conclusion of the war staved. He burned for vengeance, and sought for confederates in every direction, sending ambassadors to Afghánistán, Constantinople, and Paris. But there was no favourable response from any quarter except Mauritius, or the Isle of France, which sent him assistance to the extent of ninety-nine recruits! These marks of disaffection being openly paraded, the British Government remonstrated, and called upon the sultán to receive an English officer in his court to explain all causes of distrust and suspicion. But Tippoo would not agree to the arrangement, and procrastinated, upon which the government of the Earl of Mornington (Marquess of Wellesley) decided to re-invade Mysore, and appointed Gen. Harris, in 1799, to take charge of the operations. The army placed under Harris consisted of four thousand and four hundred European and ten thousand and seven hundred native infantry, nine hundred European and seventeen hundred and fifty native cavalry, and six hundred gunners with one hundred and four pieces of cannon. To these were added ten thousand and two hundred infantry and six hundred horse belonging to the Nizám, which, strengthened with some Company's battalions and the 33rd King's Regiment, were placed under the command of Col. Wellesley, afterwards the world-renowned Duke of Wellington. A third army of six thousand and four hundred men under Gen. Stuart advanced from Malabár.

Tippoo endeavoured to take advantage of the detached state of the invading armies, and first attacked the Malabár forces before they were aware of his approach. But, though taken by surprise, they gave him no reason to exult, and he was compelled to disperse his men in every direction to evade them. He next turned on the Nizám's troops, upon which he was attacked by Col. Wellesley from one side and Gen. Harris from another. Some of the sultán's chosen forces were sent against the 33rd European Regiment in the vain hope that, if they were broken through, it would be easier work to dispose of the native troops afterwards. His boldest men were not able to stand the English bayonet charge, which was followed by a cavalry charge in which no quarter was given.

These desultory engagements were terminated in April 1799, by Gen. Harris's determined advance on Seringápatám. Gen. Baird led the storming party, while Col. Wellesley held command of the reserve, which was to complete what Baird might leave unfinished. The Cáuvery was boldly forded by the assailants under a heavy fire, and the ramparts were fought for and won, the resistance offered being very unequal at different places. A more spirited resistance was offered inside the city, where the sultán fought with his own hands like a common soldier. But this terminated with his fall, his body being found where the contest had raged fiercest. After his death all the powerful fortresses throughout Mysore were surrendered; and, the whole country being acquired by the conquerors, the old Hindu dynasty was re-established on the throne, after having been set aside from it for forty-two years, while the family of Tippoo was removed to Vellore.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE FIRST MAHRATTÁ WAR.

A.D. 1802 to 1805.

THE conquest of Mysore opened the way to new difficulties and fresh wars. The development of the Mahrattá power has been already noticed. The genuine Mahrattás were not an extensive people at the outset; but their predatory life brought them many recruits, and they grew stronger as they advanced in their career of plunder. They invaded every country they could come to, and demanded the *chout*, or fourth part of the revenue, as tribute. When this was quietly paid no atrocities were committed; otherwise the whole country was plundered and laid waste. With a superior army they rarely contended, retiring before it till they succeeded in making their army superior to that by which it was opposed. The decline of the Mogul Empire contributed materially to make them formidable, and would have conferred absolute supremacy on them but for the invasions of the Afgháns, from whom they received two signal defeats. The Afgháns, however, did not attempt to establish themselves permanently in India, and the Mahrattás necessarily regained on their retirement a preponderance among the native States. The subversion of the power of Hyder and his son by the English filled them with fresh fears of

rivalry, and hastened that rupture with the foreigners which might otherwise have been delayed.

The unity of the Mahrattá Government disappeared a short time after the era of Sivájee. In 1708, the reigning king, Sáhoo, raised Bálájee Viswanáth to the office of *Peishwá*, and made it hereditary. The dignity of the Rájáh sunk from that time in the same degree as that of the *Peishwá* was exalted, and the latter soon established for himself a distinct seat of government at Pooná. This example was followed by other chiefs in time, who similarly established independent sovereignties for themselves as they found opportunities to do so—namely, Scindíá in Málwá, Holkár in Indore, the Guicowár in Guzerát, and the rájáh of Berár in Nágpore. They were connected with each other only by an undefined union of interests, and acknowledged in common the lead of the *Peishwá*, sedulously contending with each other for ascendancy at his Court. This engendered an excessive jealousy between them, but for which they might have yet jointly assumed the imperial power. The strength and ambition of Hyder induced these chiefs to unite with the English in successive leagues; but the assistance they rendered was too tumultuary to be of much real use. The power of both Hyder and Tippoo having been brought to an end they had already begun to look distrustfully on the English; while the English, on their part, were anxious to avail themselves of the commanding position they had secured to establish an effective control over them.

The greatest of the Mahrattá leaders at this time was Scindíá, whose territory being contiguous to that of the Moguls had enabled him to establish himself on their decline, till, amid the dissensions of the imperial Court, the emperor had personally placed himself under his

protection, which had made him master of Ágrá, Delhi, and the surrounding territories. This advantage he had augmented by increasing his military power ; and he had succeeded in organising a large army officered by French adventurers. Holkár was nearly on a par with him in strength, and like him retained French officers to instruct his troops. The rájáh of Berár was not less ambitious, but reigned over a wild people not equally open to improvement. The Guicowár, whose territory lay seaward, was the only one of them entirely devoted to English interests, for which reason he was not held in much account by the rest.

The first difference that played these chiefs into the hands of the English arose entirely among themselves. Holkár, in the course of his ravages, had overrun a part of Scindia's territories. Scindia united with the Peishwá to oppose him, but Holkár defeated them both ; upon which the Peishwá, flying to Bassein, applied to the English to re-establish him in his rights. This led to an alliance and the treaty of Bassein, executed in 1802, by which the Peishwá virtually accepted English protection and resigned his military power in their hands. Scindia was invited to take part in the engagement, but kept aloof from it ; and he afterwards joined the rájáh of Berár in opposing it.

The ostensible object of the English Government was the reinstatement of the Peishwá on his throne : their real object was the entire annihilation of the Mahrattá power. This necessitated large operations both in Central India and in the Upper Provinces, and arrangements for carrying them on vigorously were made. The military command in Central India was intrusted to Gen. Wellesley ; while that in the Upper Provinces devolved on the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Lake.

The campaign was opened by the capture of the fortress of Áhmednugger, by Gen. Wellesley, in August, 1803, of which event Scindiá gave the following laconic account: "The English came, looked at the *pettáh*, walked over it, slew the garrison, and retired to breakfast." The acquisition was of the greatest importance, as it placed at the command of the English all Scindiá's territories south of the Godávery. The fort of Baroach was taken immediately after by Col. Woodington, while Wellesley moved on to Naulniáh, whence he overtook the enemy encamped in full force near the village of Assaye. The strength of Scindiá was estimated at thirty-eight thousand cavalry and eighteen thousand infantry, with one hundred pieces of artillery. The English cavalry opposed to this force scarcely numbered three thousand sabres, while the infantry was about seven thousand strong. The battle was fought on the 23rd September, and was commenced by the English, who opened a well-directed, but unsuccessful cannonade, the enemy's artillery returning a dreadful fire which soon silenced the English guns. Everything now depended on the resolution of a moment, and that resolution was promptly taken. The guns were abandoned for a bayonet charge, and, this succeeding beyond expectation, was followed by a cavalry charge which closed the fight. A desperate slaughter was terminated by the Mahrattás being defeated at every point; but their gunners would not even then abandon their guns, and were bayoneted at their posts. In this action the native sepoy fought as well as their European comrades; and it was from this date that they commenced to be well-prized.

After this, Col. Stevenson reduced the fortresses of Burhánpore and Áseergurh; while Gen. Wellesley pro-

ceeded against the rájáh of Berár, whose troops were overtaken on the 29th November, on the plains of Árgáum. But here the opposition was not of the kind experienced at Assaye. The attack was made in two lines, the infantry being the first and the cavalry the second; and as these advanced the enemy began to fall back. The battle was of short duration, though sanguinary; the result of it was not doubtful even for a moment, notwithstanding that the native troops, which had fought so gallantly at Assaye, were at first found to be very unsteady.

Of both Assaye and Árgáum the opinions expressed by military critics have been adverse to the fame of Gen. Wellesley. The attack at Assaye, they say, should never have been risked, and would not have succeeded but for the spirit and fortitude of the troops. The engagement at Árgáum is, similarly, pronounced to have been fought against military rules, and was only won by the self-reliance and presence of mind of the general in command. Criticisms of this nature, however, are of no real value; victories are not won by rule and compass; the general who commanded knew well what he was about; and, if the proof of the pudding be in the eating of it, the proof of the warrior's ability must be seen in the victories he gained.

The success at Árgáum was followed by the capture of Gáwilgurh, a strong fort situated on a lofty rock, which was taken by Gen. Wellesley in December; while two months earlier Col. Harcourt reduced a fort in Cuttack, named Barábuttee, which had offered a determined resistance, and the seizure of which led to the entire submission of Cuttack.

The operations simultaneously carried on under Lord

Lake were equally successful. They were commenced in August, by his marching against Perrou, a French adventurer in the employ of Scindiá, who, on the land assigned to him for the maintenance of his troops, had established what he called an "independent French State on the most vulnerable part of the Company's frontier." But the brave Frenchman did not show fight on being approached, and fled with such rapidity that the English commander was not able to overtake him. Lake therefore marched on to Áligurh, the principal military depôt of Perrou, which was attacked in September, the garrison offering a desperate resistance. Two thousand of them perished in fight, after which the rest surrendered; and all the artillery and stores in the depôt were captured. At this stage Perrou appeared and gave himself up; after which he applied for and obtained permission to enter the British territories, explaining that his treachery to Scindiá was caused by that chief having appointed another commander to supersede him.

Immediately after, Lake proceeded towards Delhi, before which he found the army that Perrou had commanded, drawn up for battle under the command of a new officer, named Bourquien. The number of the Mahrattás was about nineteen thousand, while the English army pitted against them was only four thousand and five hundred strong. But Lake did not hesitate to attack his opponents, and, after having tempted them down from their heights and intrenchments, commenced the battle with a short volley, which was followed by a bayonet charge. The engagement was brief but decisive. The bayonet charge being successful, was followed by a cavalry charge which completely routed the enemy; after which Delhi was entered by the Eng-

lish, and the poor ill-treated emperor taken under protection. Lake then marched on to Ágrá, where he arrived on the 4th October, and summoned the garrison to surrender. The fort here was very strong, and was occupied by a large body of troops by whom an obstinate resistance was offered. But, a breach having been effected, the enemy capitulated, upon which one hundred and seventy-six guns were captured, with treasure amounting to 280,000*l*.

From Ágrá, Lake's army moved in pursuit of a Mahráttá force of nine thousand foot and five thousand horse, and having a numerous artillery. These were overtaken near the village of Lásuari, on the 1st November, and fought with a determination exceeding all that had been expected of them. In the first encounter their artillery mowed down men and horses in masses, and the English cavalry had to be withdrawn. A fresh attack was made on the arrival of the infantry; but the desperate valour of the Mahrattás long kept their assailants at bay, and it was not till they were dispossessed of all their guns that they relinquished the contest. These troops constituted the flower of Scindíá's army, and went by the name of the "Deccan Invincibles;" seven thousand of them were killed, and only two thousand survived to surrender themselves. Both the rájáh of Berár and Scindíá were now vanquished at every point. The former concluded peace by ceding the province of Cuttack to the English, and the latter by giving up to them all the country between the Ganges and the Jumná, with the forts contained therein. He also gave up Baroach, with the rest of his maritime territory in Guzerát; while, on the south, he ceded Áhmednugger to the Peishwá, and some extensive districts to the Nizám.

The next adversary to turn to was Holkár, who had throughout the war with Scindíá and the rájááh of Berár retained an uncertain position, professing to be friendly to the English, but only watching an opportunity to strengthen himself at the expense of the contending parties. His real intentions being thus discovered, directions were given to Lord Lake and Gen. Wellesley to commence operations against him simultaneously in Hindustán Proper and the Deccan. The troops under him at this time amounted to sixty thousand cavalry and fifteen thousand infantry, with one hundred and ninety-two pieces of artillery. The first to advance against him was Lord Lake, the march of Gen. Wellesley being delayed by a famine prevailing in the Deccan. The fort of Tonk Rámpoorá was taken in May, 1804, after which Holkár fled; whereupon Lake with the main body of the army fell back on Ágrá, amid indescribable misery and suffering from an Indian simoom, leaving a detachment under Col. Monson to guard against the return of the enemy, while the pursuit after him was intrusted to a Hindustáni cavalry, consisting of two divisions, one commanded by Capt. Gardiner, an officer in the service of the rájááh of Jynagore, and the other by Lieut. Lucan.

Many disasters followed these arrangements. Lieut. Lucan's party, having been suddenly attacked by Holkár, was cut to pieces; and in other quarters the British arms met with distressing reverses from the predatory cavalry under Ámeer Khán, the leader of the Páthán plunderers in the Deccan. Becoming bolder by success, Holkár next attacked Col. Monson himself; and, though all his assaults were vigorously repulsed, the English commander was still obliged to retreat. This had a very bad effect on the spirit of his men; and, being harassed

at every step by the enemy, the corps was reduced from twelve thousand to one thousand men, when, without cannon, baggage, and ammunition, it found refuge under the walls of Ágrá. To wipe out the disgrace of this reverse, Lake marched out personally against Holkár, in October, the force under him consisting of three regiments of European Light Dragoons, five regiments of Native Cavalry and Horse Artillery, H.M.'s 76th Regiment of Foot, the flank companies of H.M.'s 22nd Regiment, ten battalions of Native Infantry, and the usual proportion of artillery. The army under Holkár was still above seventy thousand strong ; but, avoiding Lake, he moved forward to attack Delhi. He was there received by Cols. Ochterlony and Burn, who had only two battalions and four companies of Native Infantry under them. The defence was nevertheless so successful that the assailants, after a siege of nine days, were driven back from every point and obliged to fly.

Lake having hastened to the relief of Delhi, and arriving there after the besiegers had marched off, pursued them to Deeg, tracking them by the course of their devastations. But before he came up with them a great battle was fought under the walls of the fort, on the 13th November, between them and the forces under Gens. Fraser and Monson, in which the victory was obtained by the English after a severe loss of lives. The remains of the enemy's army then took shelter within the fort, while Holkár pursued his flight towards the Jumná, followed by Lake at the rate of twenty-three miles a day. He was overtaken at Furruckábád, but, abandoning his associates there, bolted backwards to Deeg. This led to that fort being besieged and stormed in December, after which Holkár retreated towards Bhurtpore, leaving one hundred

guns and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition behind him. The strength of the chief in the Upper Provinces was now entirely broken, while, in the Deccan, Chandore and other strongholds were reduced.

The only point of resistance now was Bhurtpore, a mud fort surrounded by a broad ditch. This was defended with great skill and resolution, and the English were repulsed from it four times successively in attempting to carry it by assault. To add to their difficulties Ámeer Khán, the Páthán chief, who had been invited by the rájá of Bhurtpore to assist him, harassed them in the rear. This made their position particularly unpleasant; but the rájá, being apprehensive of final consequences, made overtures of peace in March, 1805, and paid down twenty lakhs of rupees to secure it. Holkár, thus deserted by his last ally, was obliged to seek refuge with the Sikhs, when by a complete change of policy among the English administrators all the advantages of the campaign were lost. The Court of Directors had come to the decision of concluding peace in India at any price, and the policy adopted by the Marquess of Wellesley was therefore overturned. The fortress of Gwálior was given back to Scindíá, and the fugitive Holkár was granted peace on terms which restored to him almost everything he had lost.

CHAPTER XL.

THE NEPÁL WAR.

A.D. 1814 to 1816.

THE Earl of Moira had censured in Parliament the martial proclivities of the Marquess of Wellesley, but, on his arrival in India, was obliged to undertake wars of even greater magnitude than those which Lord Wellesley had waged. The first quarrel forced on him was that with the kingdom of Nepál, the Switzerland of the East, which for a series of years had been committing aggressions on the English frontier, for which it made neither reparation nor apology, while it retained forcible possession of its usurpations, and treated the officers sent to remonstrate with insolence and atrocity. War with it having thus become unavoidable, the Governor-General determined to invade the country at once at four different points; and for that purpose organised four separate army-divisions, which were placed severally under the commands of Gens. Marley, Wood, Gillespie, and Ochterlony. The force under the first consisted of eight thousand men and twenty-six guns, and was intended for marching through Muckwanpore to Kátmandoo, the capital of Nepál. Gen. Wood, at the head of four thousand and five hundred regular troops, a body of nine hundred irregulars, and fifteen guns, was directed to march from Goruckpore, to clear

and take possession of the Terái, or jungle-territory, between the British and Nepál frontiers. The force under Gen. Gillespie, consisting of three thousand and five hundred regular troops, seven thousand irregulars, and twenty guns, had orders to seize the passes of the Ganges and the Jumná, particularly those of the Deyrá Dhoon and Jyetak, and to cut off the enemy's retreat. The force assigned to Gen. Ochterlony amounted to seven thousand men and twenty-two guns, and his orders were to operate against the western provinces and the western army of Nepál, commanded by Umur Sing Thappá, a chief of great renown. The entire Goorkhá army did not number more than twelve thousand men; but their artillery appointments were believed to be good, besides which they had a great advantage in the impregnability of their passes and the difficult nature of their country generally.

The campaign was opened in October, 1814, by the occupation of the Deyrá Dhoon by Gen. Gillespie, who proceeded thence to attack the fortress of Kalungá, which formed the key of the surrounding country. The place was garrisoned by six hundred Goorkhás, who resisted the assault with great intrepidity; and, in endeavouring to force his soldiers against stone-walls which they could not conquer by escalade, Gillespie himself was shot through the heart. The attack was renewed by Col. Mawbey, who succeeded in effecting a breach, which however, he was unable to carry, being forced back with a loss of about seven hundred men. A bombardment was next tried, and was attended with immediate success. The batteries continuing to play on it, the walls of the fortress were in three days reduced to ruins, upon which the remnants of the garrison were compelled to abandon the place, and, being pursued, had to disperse.

After this the strong fort of Báraut, being attacked, was evacuated by the enemy, and so also was the post of Luckerg hát on the Ganges, which completed the occupation of the entire valley by the invaders. Gen. Martindell, the successor of Gillespie, now resolved to assail the fortress of Jyetak; but here the Goorkhás were more strongly stockaded, and succeeded in repelling the attacks which were made, which led to a disastrous retreat.

Simultaneously with the above operations, the division under Gen. Ochterlony penetrated the western hills in the direction of Nálágurh, the fort of which name was captured on the 6th November, and that of Tárágurh immediately after it. He then passed on to Rámgurh, a hill-position of extraordinary strength, where Umur Sing had concentrated all his forces. Both the front and rear of the position were found to be unassailable, till, by a series of skilful manœuvres, Umur Sing was compelled to quit the place, upon which it was at once occupied by the English. Two other forts—Jhoojhooroo and Chumbul—were also taken, after which Ochterlony halted for a time in expectation of reinforcements.

The operations of the other two divisions were uniformly disastrous. Gen. Wood suffered himself to be inveigled into an attack of a redoubt at Jeetgurh, which, though carried with considerable loss, he was not able to retain. He then endeavoured to proceed in a westerly direction, with a view to create a diversion of the enemy's force, but was stopped by the movements of the Goorkhás, who, advancing into the country, burnt all the villages on his route. An attempt to occupy Bhotwál was next made, but was unsuccessful; after which the health of the troops compelled them to retire into cantonments at Goruckpore. The only achievement of the division

under Gen. Marley was the occupation of the Sárún Terái, which was effected before he took charge. After he joined the army the Goorkhás attacked two of his advanced posts—Pursáh and Summundpore—and carried them. An attempt was made to reoccupy Pursáh, but was given up in alarm ; after which the general retired to Bettiáh, from which nothing could induce him to venture out. He was recalled. A similar conduct on the part of a Nepálese general, named Bhágbut Sing, was punished by his Government, not simply by recall, but by his being publicly exhibited in woman's attire, a distinction which Marley also had equally merited.

Gen. Marley was succeeded by a second Gen. Wood, who proved to be no better than his namesake, the hero of Jeetgurh. A detachment of his division distinguished itself, towards the end of February, 1815, by a smart attack on a party of four hundred Goorkhás, who were defeated and pursued ; but the general himself was more cautious, and, pleading the advanced season of the year as an excuse for his conduct, he broke up his army and cantoned it in convenient situations from the Gunduck to the Koosi. The division under Gen. Martindell also remained equally inactive ; and the courage of the English officers soon became a by-word in every native Court in India.

The entire command of the war was now vested by the Governor-General in Gen. Ochterlony, the only commander who had fought valiantly and skilfully in the campaign. Having driven Umur Sing from Rámgurh to Málown, Ochterlony had successively reduced several strongholds, among which were those of Beláspore and Álmoráh. He crowned these successes by attacking Umur Sing at Málown, where a protracted contest of

more than one month was maintained, the Nepálese general being finally forced to capitulate on the 11th May, 1815, whereby the possession of the entire country between the Jumná and the Sutledge was secured.

The Nepál Government was so discouraged by these reverses that it expressed a willingness for peace; but the terms proposed by the English, which included the cession of all the provinces conquered in the west and of the whole of the Terái, were refused as too exacting by the Court of Kátmandoo, even after they had been accepted by its ambassadors. Lord Moira, however, declined to relax in his demands; and Ochterlony was ordered to renew the war, and pressed forward to do so at the head of twenty thousand men, including three English regiments. He found the enemy intrenched at the Cheriághátee Pass, which formed the entrance into their mountain-territory. The approaches to their position were all strongly stockaded and unassailable; but, by marching through a forest of nine miles, Ochterlony discovered an undefended by-path which turned the pass. The heights on the flank of the enemy's position were thus gained by the middle of February, 1816, which compelled them to evacuate the place and retreat from stockade to stockade till they reached the town of Muckwanpore. On the 27th February, the English troops took up a position in the neighbourhood of Muckwanpore, upon which the Goorkhás endeavoured to dislodge them, which brought on a general action that decided the campaign. It was at first very hotly contested, till a British bayonet charge broke the enemy. A good stand was again made by them beyond a deep hollow, whence an incessant cannonade was kept up for some hours. But a fresh sepoy battalion dashed across the hollow, and, charging the enemy again

with the bayonet, captured their nearest guns, which compelled them to retire into their forts and stockades.

This concluded the Nepál war, the Court of Kátmandoo agreeing to yield everything that the English had originally asked for. All the Nepál territories occupied by the English, including the valley of the Ráptee and Hureehurpore, were thus acquired. The rájáh also sent in an apologetic letter for the differences that had arisen, promised never again to disturb the English frontier, and agreed to receive an English Resident at his Court.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE SECOND MAHRATTÁ AND PINDÁRI WAR.

A.D. 1817 TO 1819.

THE second great war waged by the Earl of Moira, now made Marquess of Hastings, began in hostilities with the Pindáris, the Freebooters of Central India, who were secretly supported by the Mahrattá princes, and ended in the annihilation of the former, while the latter were brought under subordination and control. The Pindáris, or Free Companions, were dispersed throughout the Mahrattá States, and were countenanced and protected by the Mahrattá chiefs, to whom they were invaluable as agents for supplying all the commissariat required by their armies. They were composed of the refuse of all races congregated together solely for purposes of plunder. Every vagabond having a horse and a sword was qualified to serve as a Pindári recruit; no virtue of any kind—not even personal courage—was required of him; all the strength of the Pindáris lay in their numbers and in the celerity of their movements. They were simply mean and cowardly robbers, called forth into existence by a vicious and degraded state of society; and they kept themselves actively employed by undertaking expeditions of plunder and rapine on their own account. As a rule these depredations were made on the neighbouring

Rájput States ; but they sometimes levied contributions in Mahrattá country also, on the subjects and dependants of the very princes who protected them ; and, even on such occasions, no pains were ever taken to check their rapacity so long as a part of the plunder was surrendered to the protecting chief. The two great divisions among them were known by the names of “ Scindíá-Sháhi ” and “ Holkár-Sháhi,” as being respectively under the protection of Scindíá and Holkár ; the first band being much more powerful than the second. The organisation of all the divisions was the same. They were all mounted on small but hardy ponies ; carried no conveniences of life with them, depending on plunder even for their subsistence ; and spared no barbarities in their depredations. The most diabolical tortures were used to extract informations of treasure ; the greatest cruelties inflicted for attaining the most trivial advantages. When first known to the English authorities their principal commanders were Cheetoo, Kurreem, and Dost Mahomed, the most desperate and profligate villains among themselves being always selected for such commands. For a long time the English territories had been respected by them ; but they had begun to be less particular in this respect from 1812, and had latterly entered Ganjám, Masulipatám, Guntoor, and the Northern Circárs, and in twelve days had killed and wounded nearly seven thousand persons, and carried off property to the value of 100,000*l*. These atrocities rendered it imperative on the English Government to root them out ; and preparations for their total suppression were accordingly organised by Lord Hastings on the grandest scale, as apprehensions were entertained that an attack on them might give rise to a war with the Mahrattá chiefs by whom they were abetted.

This anticipation was realised; but the complications with the different chiefs were differently created. The Peishwá, Bájee Ráo, not having been on good terms with the Guicowár, the ruler of Guzerát, the latter made several attempts to have the difficulties between them settled by negotiation. All these efforts were baffled by the intrigues of an adventurer, named Trimbuckjee Dangliá, who had risen rapidly in the Peishwá's favour; and the claims and counterclaims of the two parties at last became so intricate that the Guicowár offered to send to Pooná his own prime-minister, Gungádhur Shástree, as the person best able to place the questions at issue between them on an intelligible basis. The Shástree accordingly went thither, in 1814, on receiving a safe-conduct from the British Government, after which he was set upon by the followers of Trimbuckjee and assassinated. This short-sighted violence left the British Government no alternative but to demand the surrender of Trimbuckjee; and, on evasion being attempted, a military demonstration on Pooná was threatened, to prevent which Trimbuckjee was surrendered. He was kept in confinement by the English in the fortress of Tanná, in the island of Sálsette, but managed to escape thence with the connivance of a Mahrattá groom, after which he hastened to the southern districts of the Mahrattá country and began to levy troops and raise the whole country to make war with the English. As the Peishwá encouraged these proceedings secretly he was remonstrated with, till, throwing off his reserve, he joined in hostile movements against the English, and finally ended by attacking the Residency, and plundering and burning it to the ground, in October, 1817. The Resident and his party had barely time to escape from the place when it was thus attacked and

destroyed. The English troops came back shortly after to reoccupy Pooná, and the Peishwá's forces were defeated, and bolted: after which Col. Colebrooke was sent in pursuit of the Peishwá, which forced him to throw himself into the wild country where the Kristná takes its rise, and to make common cause with the Pindáris.

The largest army that England had ever yet collected together in India now took the field for the avowed purpose of finally crushing the Pindáris, and of establishing order among the Mahrattá States. It counted eighty-one thousand infantry, and ten thousand regular and twenty-three thousand irregular cavalry; and of the entire number thirteen thousand were British soldiers. These forces were grouped into two bodies, called respectively the "Army of Bengal, or the Grand-Army," which was commanded by the Governor-General in person, and the "Army of the Deccan," which was divided into two army-corps, commanded, one by Sir Thomas Hislop, and the other by Sir John Malcolm. The divisions of the armies were so located as to form together a complete cordon round the Pindári positions. The forces opposed to them were estimated at two hundred and twenty-five thousand men, the Mahrattá confederacy counting one hundred and thirty thousand horse and eighty thousand foot, and the Pindáris fifteen thousand horse. The field of war was so extensive that it gave great facilities to the flying propensities of the Mahrattás and Pindáris, and this necessarily threw many difficulties in the way of their pursuit.

Up to this time the other Mahrattá chiefs had not discovered themselves. It being now necessary that a part of the English army should traverse the territories of Scindíá, the Governor-General considered it essential

that, when leaving the dominion of that chief behind, his consent should be extorted to such a treaty as would withdraw from him the means of hostile interposition in the approaching conflict. The Resident at Gwálior was accordingly instructed to demand of Scindíá that all his troops be placed at the disposal of the Governor-General, that a contingent of five thousand horse be furnished by him to the army equipped at his own expense, and that the forts of Hindíá and Áseergurh be delivered up to the English for the time, his flag continuing to fly on them as heretofore. These conditions were very hard, and Scindíá objected strongly to agree to them; but, as the Governor-General was determined to enforce them, the treaty was eventually signed on the 6th November, 1817. Similar treaties were also extorted from the other Mahrattá chiefs, and also from Ámeer Khán, the leader of the Páthán plunderers in Central India, who was well known as the most atrocious villain of his day.

With Berár the relations hitherto had been very amicable. But Rughoojee Bhonslá having died, and Áppá Sáheb, his cousin, having been raised to the *musnud* by the English, the first idea that occurred to him was to get rid of his allies, whose assistance, he thought, was no longer of any use to him. This induced him to enter into active correspondence with the Peishwá and the Pindáris; the remonstrances of the Resident were lightly treated; and at last hostile preparations were made which compelled the Resident, in November, 1817, to send for troops from the cantonments, and to occupy the hills of Seetábuldee, where they were surrounded by the enemy on the 27th. The Arabs in the rájáh's service fought resolutely, while the sepoy in the British army were panic-struck and fled, and were put to

the sword. The day seemed lost, when a daring cavalry charge headed by Capt. Fitz-Gerald retrieved it, the enemy being scattered in every direction, including the Arabs who were unable to stand a bayonet charge. This forced Áppá Sáheb to enter into negotiations; but, as he at the same time went on increasing his army, it was determined to crush him altogether as speedily as practicable. Gen. Doveton was accordingly sent after him, and by his movements succeeded in compelling Áppá Sáheb to surrender, after much hesitation and delay, on the 16th December, 1817. His artillery nevertheless opened a heavy fire on the English; but, in less than an hour, all the offending batteries were carried, and the Arabs put to flight, leaving their entire camp, with eighty guns, mortars, and howitzers, and forty-five elephants, in the hands of the victors. Even after this defeat a part of the Arab infantry rallying occupied the city and fortress of Nágpore, which they held for a time, capitulating at last on the condition of being permitted to march out with their baggage and private property; after which no further resistance was made.

Great confusion had also arisen intermediately in the territory of Holkár. Jeswant Ráo having died, and his heir, Mulhár Ráo, being a minor, Tulsí Báe, the widow of the deceased Holkár, was made regent. Her leaning for English protection, however, soon made her very unpopular among her own people, and notably with Ámeer Khán and the Pátháns who had a potential voice in the councils of the country, and were particularly anxious to keep up a state of anarchy in it to benefit themselves. To remove the only obstruction in their way they seized upon and assassinated the regent, which forced Sir John Malcolm and Sir Thomas Hislop to pro-

ceed together towards Mehidpore—where Holkár's army was posted—to avenge the outrage. The battle of Mehidpore was fought on the 21st December. A galling fire kept up by the enemy was very destructive to the English horse-artillery, which had first crossed over to their side, and the guns attached to which were nearly disabled. But the English, having succeeded in carrying a ruined village which was the key of the Mahrattá position, were soon able to overpower the batteries from which they had so severely suffered, which spread dismay through the enemy's ranks, and forced them to retire. The terms now offered were accepted with alacrity—namely, that Holkár should be placed under the protection of the English, and should surrender to them various districts, forts, and passes; that an English force should be maintained in his territories for preserving internal tranquillity; and that he should engage never to commit any act of hostility or aggression against any of the allies or dependants of the English. Some of the Páthán chiefs exhibited their disapproval of these terms by breaking them shortly after their acceptance; but they were quickly defeated, after which the whole country was reduced to obedience and tranquillity.

These rapid successes kept Scindíá steady to the treaty concluded by him, and deprived the wandering Peishwá almost of every hope of success. The Pindáris, for whose suppression the grand-army had been organised, never showed fight. Their two leaders, Kurreem and Cheetoo, quarrelled with each other as to the means of escape, not as to the means of resistance. Kurreem, attempting to fly in the direction of Gwálior, was surprised by Gen. Donkin and completely overthrown, even his wife being captured, while he himself was obliged to

surrender to Sir John Malcolm a short while after. The rest of the Pindáris fled with Cheetoo in the direction of Mewár, and were hunted from cover to cover. Some of the *durrá*, or division, were traced to Mehidpore, and after the action there were pursued and cut up; but the chief himself eluded all search. At one time he joined Áppá Sáheb and passed some time in the Mahádeo hills; but, attempting to follow the rájáh to Áseergurh after his final defeats, was refused admittance. His sole adherent at this time was an only son, with whom he now parted, father and son taking different routes to cover their retreat. The son soon fell into the hands of the English, while Cheetoo terminated his life in a jungle, where he was killed by a tiger; and with him ended the Pindári name.

The Peishwá was still pursuing his flight through the southern States of the Deccan. Báppoojee Goklá, his ablest general, rallied to defend a ghát leading to the sources of the Kristná, where his master had found a temporary refuge, but was beaten back and defeated. Rapid and wearying marches ensued, the Peishwá's army flying in a zigzag all over the Deccan, at one time approaching Mysore, and at another the banks of the Nermuddá, always distancing his pursuers by the rapidity of its flight. At Wuttoor he was joined by Trimbuckjee, who brought him large reinforcements, after which they tried to retrace their steps towards Pooná. But they were intercepted by Capt. Staunton taking up a position on the heights of Corregáum, about half-way to Pooná, where a desperate engagement was fought on the 1st January, 1818, the possession of the village being obstinately disputed by the Arabs who composed the main body of the Mahrattá infantry. Here, also, the English

were at first worsted, till a resolute charge made by Lieut. Pattinson and his sepoy-grenadiers succeeded in capturing the last gun of the Arabs, and in expelling them from their post. The enemy still continued to hover about the place, but offered no molestation; and Gen. Smith's division coming up to it shortly after, the Peishwá and his followers were obliged to recede again to the table-land near the sources of the Kristná, whence overtures for a treaty were made. But these were summarily rejected, the English Government having already determined to abolish the title of "Peishwá," though they were willing to soothe the feelings of the Mahrattá people by restoring the rájáh of Sattará—the lineal descendant of Sivájee—to some share of his former dignity. To this end Gen. Smith secured possession of Sattará, after which he renewed the pursuit of the Peishwá. A spirited stand was made at Ashtee by Goklá, on the 18th February; but the Mahrattás were defeated and Goklá slain. After two further actions with the same result the Peishwá surrendered, and, on renouncing his dignity and all claims of sovereignty, a pension of 100,000*l.* per annum was allowed to him, and his residence fixed at Bithoor. Trimbuckjee Dangliá was captured a short time after, and confined, first again at Tonná, and afterwards at Chunár, a liberal allowance being also made to him.

As Áppá Sáheb had surrendered himself, and as the blame of the later transactions at Nágpore did not attach to him, he was released by the English on the entire surrender of Nágpore. The terms proposed for his acceptance included the complete subjection of his military force to the English, and the appointment of even his ministers by them. To this the rájáh refused to agree.

He expressed preference for a liberal pension; but that was not conceded to him. He thereupon began again to intrigue and to levy troops; and secret correspondence with the Peishwá was discovered. The Resident placed him in durance; but he effected his escape. He then went to the Gonds and lived among them, and concerted with their chief, Chyn Sháh, a plan for recovering the forts of Nágpore. All attempts of the kind were, however, frustrated, and, a hot pursuit being made, Áppá Sáheb fled to Áseergurh, a fort belonging to Scindíá, the Killádár of which received and sheltered him. Scindíá, as a good friend of the English, sent an order to the Killádár to deliver up the fort to them; but he is said to have simultaneously sent a secret command, directing him, if he valued his head, to hold out to the last. The Killádár followed the latter mandate, and stood siege till his provisions were exhausted, after which he surrendered at discretion, on the 7th April, 1819, but not till Áppá Sáheb had been allowed to escape. The rájáh went to Láhore, where he lived the recipient of a trifling allowance from Runjeet; but the latter never received him publicly at his *durbár* to avoid giving offence to the English.

The fall of Áseergurh closed the Mahrattá campaign. The English acquired an immense accession of territory and revenue. Áppá Sáheb was dethroned, and the grandson of Rughoojee Bhonslá elevated to his place; but the whole country of Nágpore, with its resources, was virtually annexed to the English territories. It was completely acquired on a later day, when, the rájáh dying without leaving an heir, the right of the ránees to adopt a successor was disallowed.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE BURMESE WAR.

A.D. 1823 TO 1826.

THE disagreement with Burmáh broke out from several acts of frontier aggression on the part of the Burmese, which were first suffered to pass unpunished, but which eventually led to petty hostilities that culminated in a declaration of war. The aggressions had been constant from Arracan; but had not been altogether unprovoked, some political refugees from Burmáh having openly disturbed the Burman frontier by raids concocted at Chittagong. The difference between the outrages perpetrated on the two sides respectively, which the Burmese affected not to understand, was this, that, while the British Government had no hand in the raids led from Chittagong, the violation of British territory was the act, not of private offenders, but of the Court of Ává.

The immediate cause of hostilities—the spark that set the mine on flame—was a claim advanced by both Governments to a little island at the mouth of the Naáf river, which formed the boundary between Chittagong and Arracan. The Burmese threatened that if this island, which had for a long time been in the possession of the English Government, were not given up to them at once, they would forcibly take away from the English the

cities of Dáccá and Moorshedábád, which they affirmed had at one time belonged to the Golden Throne! Previous to this the first blood had been drawn by the Burmese on the Cáchár frontier, which had been penetrated by a joint Burmese and Assamese army in pursuit of fugitives; and, the assailants not having been very successfully met by the English force located there, had committed many excesses with impunity. As the whole of this frontier was only a succession of forests, hills, and swamps, the English Government, in deciding upon retributive operations, preferred to ascend the Irrawádi and open the campaign by the capture of Rangoon. To this end a large force specially selected for the enterprise was organised, consisting of H.M.'s 13th and 38th Regiments, the 2nd Battalion of the 20th N. I.; and two companies of European Artillery, from Bengal; and of H.M.'s 41st and 89th Regiments, the Madrás Eurasian Regiment, seven Battalions of Native Infantry, and four Companies of Artillery, from Madrás: making an aggregate of about eleven thousand and five hundred men. Attached to this army were a park of fourteen heavy guns, ten howitzers, eight mortars, and twelve field-pieces; and also twenty gun-brigs and schooners, twenty row-boats, four sloops of war, and several of the Company's cruisers.

The whole expedition was placed under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, and arrived off the Rangoon river in May, 1824, anchoring opposite Rangoon on the 11th. The consternation and alarm of the Burmese at the sight of it was exceedingly great. Rangoon was at once deserted by them, and was occupied by the invaders without opposition. In removing themselves from it, however, the Burmese took away also everything in the

shape of supplies ; and, the place being surrounded by jungle, considerable distress was suffered by the English on this account, particularly in consequence of the immediate descent of the rains.

All the supplies removed from the reach of the English were retained by the enemy, who took up their quarters in the surrounding jungle, where they stockaded themselves. They were commanded by one of their minister's of state, named Thakiá Woonghee, whose orders were to annihilate the invaders. But he never came forward to carry out the charge ; and, when parties of his people were surprised and pursued, they seldom stopped to show fight, except when they were unable to fly. Their general practice was to fight under a cover, and to leave their dead behind them, the survivors traversing over to other parts of the jungle, for refuge behind fresh stockades which were quickly improvised. The first strong position taken from them was Kemmendine, a war-boat station three miles above Rangoon, which was captured on the 3rd June. The enemy had laboured day and night to strengthen it, and the heights were strongly stockaded. But the strongest of these defences was carried in a few minutes, after which there was a down-pour of pitiless rain, which prevented further operations for the day. When the attack was renewed next morning the other stockades were found deserted, the Burmese having gone off in the night to man their next military post, several miles in the rear.

This was the character of the war throughout. In the beginning of July, the Shoodagon pagodá, which was considered to be the key of the position occupied by the English, was attempted to be taken, the main body of the enemy boldly coming up to within half a mile of

Rangoon, and commencing a spirited attack. But two field-pieces served out with grape and shrapnell soon checked their advance, after which a charge of the 43rd Madrás Infantry put them to flight.

This defeat led to Thakiá Woonghee being superseded in command by another general, named Soombá Woonghee, who adopted the safer policy of acting entirely on the defensive. He stockaded his army in the most difficult part of the forest, whence he was content to make desultory attacks nightly on the English lines. The English commander resolved to force him to a general action, and, two columns of attack being formed, one was led by land under Gen. McBean; while the other advanced by water under the Commander-in-Chief. The operations both by land and water were equally successful; and by the middle of July several stockades were taken, ten being captured in one day, with thirty pieces of artillery in them, while nearly a thousand men were killed, including the Woonghee.

The next expedition was sent out at about the end of August, and had for its object the subjugation of the maritime possessions of the enemy. It also resulted in full success. Tavoy surrendered voluntarily, Mergui was taken by storm, and the people all along the Tenasserim coast came forward of themselves to solicit English protection.

These reverses roused the king of Ává to extra exertions, and he sent two of his own brothers—the princes Tonghoo and Tharawáddy—with a corps of “Invulnerables,” and a host of astrologers, against the invaders. A fresh effort to carry the Shoodagon pagodá was made in September, but the result was the same as before. The grapeshot and musketry of the garrison repulsed the

boldest of the assailants, and they all ran back again for the covering of the jungles from which they had emerged.

The only reverse met by the English was at Rámoo, where a detachment under Capt. Naton was cut off and some of the men and officers killed by a Burmese party led by one Mengá Mahá Bundoolá, whose good luck promoted him at once to the post of Commander-in-Chief, and to the uncoveted distinction of being sent against the English on the Irráwádi. He came with a following of sixty thousand fighting men, and between the 1st and 5th December made repeated attacks on Kemmendine, all of which were repulsed. He, at the same time, made desperate efforts to open his way down the river and get possession of Rangoon. These attempts were made at night, when fire-rafts were launched on the stream in the hope of setting fire to the English vessels lying off Kemmendine, or of driving them away from their moorings. But the English sailors understood the game well enough to defeat it, for taking to their boats they pushed off to meet the burning rafts, which they grappled with their grappling-irons and conducted past their ships, or stranded on the shore. After this, several petty attacks on the British posts were made, but without effect; upon which Sir Archibald Campbell resolved to become the assailant and attack the enemy opposite to Rangoon. The operation was conducted by two columns aggregating seventeen hundred men, aided by a party of gun-boats to take the enemy in the rear. It was fully successful and the Burmese fled; but they returned shortly after to make a final attempt on the pagodá, and, on being again beaten and driven back on the 7th, Bundoolá went and stockaded himself at Kokeen. In-

cendiaries were now employed by the enemy to burn the invaders out of Rangoon, and the town was in one night—that of the 14th—fired in several places. This hastened the English attack on Kokeen, and the enemy, driven from all their intrenchments and stockades, were obliged to fall back on Donabew.

In February, 1825, Donabew was attacked both by land and water, the water-column being commanded by Gen. Cotton, and the land-column by the Commander-in-Chief. The first was repulsed by an overwhelming force, and made a precipitate retreat, till it was brought up again by the second. In the attack of the 3rd April, which followed, Bundoolá was killed by a rocket, after which neither threats nor entreaties on the part of the other chiefs could prevail on the garrison to stand ground, and the place being deserted was occupied by the English. Immediately, Major Sale had entered the Irráwádi by another of its mouths, and captured Bassein; and this facilitated the advance of the main army upon Prome, which was occupied on the 25th April, without a shot being fired, the enemy having deserted it at night, leaving behind them more than a hundred pieces of artillery and an extensive supply of grain.

These discomfitures were followed by a period of inaction on the part of the Burmese, after which an attempt at negotiation was made, which fell through because the Court of Ává refused to concede either money or territory. At the expiration of the armistice hostilities were renewed; and, in November, 1825, the English received a check at Wattygoon, where Col. McDowall was repulsed. This emboldened the Burmese to attempt the English lines at Prome, the result of which was that they were defeated at all points, and completely routed. They were defeated

again on the heights of Nepádee, and that position captured ; and, both banks of the Irráwádi being now completely cleared, the Commander-in-Chief prepared to advance on Melloon. Attempt to gain time was once more made by the enemy by initiating proposals of peace ; but the terms were not agreed upon, and Melloon was attacked and carried by assault, in January, 1826. A third offer of peace was now made through Dr. Price, a captive American Missionary, but ended by the levy of a new army of forty thousand men, who were named the " Retrievers of the king's glory," and came forward to give battle. They were met near the city of Pagahm, on the 9th February, and opened a random fusilade to commence with. As the English forces moved on notwithstanding, the " Retrievers, etc." rushed forward to face them, presenting themselves before them with wild and frantic gestures and hideous shouts. But their onset was boldly resisted by the English vanguard, and completely checked. The vanguard happening to be subsequently ill-supported for a moment, gave time to the Burmese general to rally. But the sepoy who came up immediately after fought with great coolness and bravery, and after some anxious moments, the Burmese were wholly beaten ; upon which the country people on all sides submitted to the English, and solicited their protection.

After this victory Sir Archibald Campbell was in full march to Ává, but was stopped at Yandáboo by a deputation of Burmese agents, accompanied by some English and American prisoners, who came to announce the king's acceptance of any terms the English might choose to dictate. A treaty of peace was thereupon concluded, by which the king's claims on Assam and the contiguous

States of Jynteáñ and Cáchár were renounced, the conquered provinces of Arracan and the Tenasserim were ceded to the English, the payment of a crore of rupees as indemnification for the expenses of the war was agreed to, exchange of accredited ministers between the two Courts provided for, and free trade conceded to British subjects in every part of the Burman Empire.

A second Burmese war was got up in 1852, by the arrogance of the Burmese governor at Rangoon, who set at nought the commercial treaty secured by the first war, and injured and invaded the property of British subjects in Rangoon in various ways. This was a comparatively petty affair; and the expedition which was sent out to chastise the enemy, succeeded, in the course of three months, in capturing Mártaban, Rangoon, Prome, and Pégu, which led to the whole province of Pegu being annexed. The most important change which resulted from this war was a revolution at Ává, where the reigning king was deposed by the party averse to a continuance of the war, and his brother raised to the throne.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE CAPTURE OF BHURTPORE.

A.D. 1825-26.

WE have mentioned in a previous chapter¹ how the mud fort of Bhurtpore successfully repulsed four successive attempts made by the English to carry it by assault. The Játs, who owned the stronghold, made no figure in Indian history previous to the time of Aurungzebe, when they were best known as a gang of robbers. But the imbecility of the Moguls after Aurungzebe's death converted the bandits into a nation occupying a considerable extent of territory around the city of Ágrá. They were able on an emergency to muster seventy thousand troops; but their chief strength lay in their fortresses, among which Deeg, Cumbere, Bianá, and Bhurtpore were the most famous.

The strongest of these fortresses, in fact the strongest fortress in all India, was Bhurtpore, the rájáh of which was latterly in alliance with the English. He left an infant son, Bulwant Sing, to succeed him, and, fearing lest his right should be disputed by others, implored the protection of Sir David Ochterlony, the Resident at Delhi, on behalf of his government. This protection was promised; and, when Doorjun Sál, a cousin of Bulwant Sing, having gained over a large portion of the Bhurtpore troops, seized the person

¹ See Chapter XXXIX., page 229.

of the boy, Ochterlony assembled the forces immediately available to him and proceeded to attack Bhurtpore, calling upon the Játs by proclamation to support their lawful chief. This bold procedure, however, was too daring for the nerves of the English Government; the troops collected by Ochterlony were recalled, and the Resident was commanded to withdraw or modify the proclamation he had issued. Ochterlony thereupon threw up his appointment and retired in disgrace ; but the Government which had insulted him to this extent had no way of its own to solve the difficulty which had arisen, and was finally compelled to adopt the measures he had planned. The crisis was hastened by a quarrel between Doorjun Sál and his brother Mádhoo Sing, which was fought out near Deeg, Doorjun Sál being defeated. This threw the English frontier in a ferment, the people dividing into parties and joining one side or the other. It became imperative, therefore, to put down the Játs by force of arms.

A large force of about twenty-five thousand men, with more than one hundred pieces of artillery, was accordingly, in December, 1825, mustered by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Combermere, for attacking Bhurtpore, the garrison of which was estimated to be not less than twenty thousand strong. It was humanely proposed to Doorjun Sál to remove the women and children from the town ; but the suggestion was received as an insult, and was not listened to. The siege operations were then commenced, and the batteries opened fire on the 24th December, causing great havoc in the town ; but neither cannon-shot nor shell made any impression on the tough mud-wall of the fort, which was from fifty to sixty feet thick. Mines were now sprung, some of which were frustrated by countermines ; but the others which exploded effected practical breaches. An

immense mine charged with a vast quantity of powder exploded the whole north-east angle of the works, and this caused the largest opening. The assault was ordered on the 18th January, 1826, and the troops rushing gallantly forward ascended the breaches and cleared them, notwithstanding the most determined opposition they met with. The entire assailing force amounted to about eleven thousand men, and was divided into distinct columns 'that attacked from different sides. Within two hours after all the ramparts of the town were in the possession of the besiegers, and the command of the gates of the citadel was fully secured. Doorjun Sál, with one hundred and sixty chosen horsemen, attempted to force out a passage, but was prevented and captured. One of his wives and two of his sons were also taken, and they were all sent as prisoners to Alláhábád. The loss of the garrison from the explosion of the great mine alone was estimated at four thousand men, the total loss being little less than seven thousand. The loss of the besiegers comprised sixty-one Europeans and forty-two natives, nearly five hundred men more being wounded. With the fall of this celebrated fortress the whole of the dominion attached to it was acquired, including the other forts previously named; and, henceforward, the entire country west of the Jumná, which had always been restless, quietly accepted the supremacy of Britain. Within the limits of India the English had no powerful enemies now to contend with. The next great war was an aggressive one, carried on beyond the natural boundaries of India.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE AFGHÁN WAR.

A.D. 1838 TO 1842.

THE Afghán monarchy was refounded in 1747, by Áhmed Sháh Dooráni, previously employed as an officer of an Afghán troop of horse in the service of Persia. Áhmed also looked at the Mogul throne in India with wishful eyes, and undertook the several expeditions into the country, which we have already noticed. But, when his triumph at Pániput placed all India at his feet, either his heart failed him, or his prudence got the better of his longings, and he remained contented with the rich provinces of the Indus and the valley of Cashmere, increasing his dominions further by additions in the directions of Báلكh, Herát, and Scinde. All these territories were in due course inherited by Soojá-al-Moolk; but, at this juncture, his brother Máhmood rose against him, and, aided by Futteh Khán, his vizier, succeeded in expelling him from the throne. Máhmood then became jealous of the man to whom he owed his elevation, and, finding that he had an eye on Herát, deposed Futteh Khán, and then hacked him into pieces after blinding him,—an ingratitude which was promptly avenged by his brothers, by whom Máhmood was driven to Herát, while the bulk of his territory was partitioned among themselves. The

ablest of these brothers, Dost Mahomed, became ruler of Kabool and Ghazni; and, amid the distractions that followed, Runjeet Sing became master of the Punjáb, to which he added Cashmere, while Báلكh was seized upon by the sovereign of Bokhárá, and the Ámeers of Scinde became independent.

Sháh Soojá, after his expulsion from Afghánistán, resided first in the Punjáb, and then at Loodianá, and became a pensioner of the British Government. But he did not give up all hopes of recovering his throne, particularly as they were kept alive by promises of assistance from Runjeet, whom he had bribed by the gift of the *Kohinoor*. At this time the English Government suffered violently from a peculiar distemper called Russophobia, which recurs periodically, after intervals of ten, fifteen, and twenty years. The immediate cause of the fit was the siege of Herát by the Persians, who were believed to be warming the chestnuts for the Russian bear. The doctors, both of the East and the West, suggested an alliance with the ruler of Afghánistán as a good, if not an effective, remedy for the complaint; and, to secure this, an envoy (Sir Alexander Burnes) was sent to Dost Mahomed. But the conditions of an alliance could not be mutually determined, as the Dost required unqualified support in all his schemes of aggrandisement, to which the British Government would not, or could not, agree; while the British Government demanded unreasonable sacrifices from him, such as the relinquishment of all alliances with the Western Powers (meaning Russia and Persia), to which he would not consent. To checkmate him, and attain the end held in view, the British Government determined to back the claims of Sháh Soojá, and a treaty to that effect was concluded with Runjeet and Sháh

Soojá, after which the necessary military preparations for invading Afghánistán were made. Thus was the greatest blunder committed by the English in India brought about.

The force collected for the invasion was drawn from Bengal and Bombay. The former contributed two troops of horse and three companies of foot artillery, a cavalry brigade consisting of the 16th Lancers, and the 2nd and 3rd Light Cavalry, five brigades of infantry, an Engineer Department, and two companies of Sappers and Miners, with a siege-train consisting of four 18-pounders, two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars, and two spare howitzers. The contributions of the latter comprised two troops of horse and two companies of foot artillery, one brigade of cavalry consisting of two squadrons of 'H.M.'s 4th Light Dragoons and the 1st Bombay Light Cavalry, and a body of infantry consisting of two European and four native regiments. It also furnished the Pooná Auxiliary Horse, an Engineer Department, a detachment of Sappers and Miners, and a siege-train consisting of two 18-pounders and four 9-pounders. The whole of this force, amounting to upwards of fifteen thousand men, was at first proposed to be placed under Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief of India; but, as he returned to England shortly after, the command was intrusted to Sir John Keane. Besides this force Sháh Soojá was placed at the head of an army of his own, consisting of a troop of native horse-artillery, two regiments of cavalry, and five regiments of infantry, the whole, amounting to six thousand men, being commanded by an English officer, Gen. Simpson; while another force, called the Sháhzádá's force, was placed under the nominal command of 'Iimour, the son of Sháh Soojá, and counted about

five thousand men, who were armed almost with every conceivable variety of weapon. Civil officers were at the same time appointed to accompany these forces—namely, Sir Wm. Hay Macnaghten, as envoy and minister at the Court of Sháh Soojá; Sir Alexander Burnes, as envoy to Khelát, but acting as Macnaghten's aid-in-chief; and Lieuts. D'Arcy Todd, Pottinger, and Conolly, as political and military assistants.

The British force started in December, 1838, by way of Scinde and Beloochistán, and was followed by the irregular force under the Sháh. The army was called the "Army of the Indus," and marched straight up to Kandahár, through the Bolan Pass, traversing a most difficult country, in the face of constant annoyance from desultory attacks by the Beloochees and Káhurs. The greatest distress was felt from want of water; and much loss of provisions and transport-cattle was sustained; but all these difficulties were finally overcome. The Sirdárs who held Kandahár vacated it on perceiving their approach, after which Sháh Soojá entered the place on the 25th April, 1839, and was there solemnly enthroned. The army then marched on to Ghazni, which was attacked on the 22nd July; the Kabool gate was blown open with powder; and the fortress was taken by storm, notwithstanding the most terrific opposition. This induced Dost Mahomed to negotiate for peace; but when he learnt that the only terms which would be accepted were his resignation of the crown and residence in British territory, he drew back from his amicable advances, and retreated by Bamián into Turkeistán.

The English now proceeded towards Kabool, and entered it on the 7th August, no opposition being offered to them. Sháh Soojá, brought back to his capital, was

restored to his people; but he received no royal reception from them, there was no expression of joy at his return. There is no doubt that he had a party in the country, and a strong party too; but all Afghánistán felt to a man the insult of a foreign invasion. It was perhaps the consciousness of this feeling that dictated the early removal of a large portion of the English army from the country after Sháh Soojá was seated on the *musnud*; but no greater mistake than that could have been committed: either the whole army should have been withdrawn, or no portion of it at all.

While the English occupied Kabool several minor expeditions were undertaken against refractory villages, chiefs, and forts. One of the most important of these was the chastisement of the ruler of Khelát, who had harassed the British army on its onward march. This was achieved by the Bombay division of the army when on its return, the Khán being attacked in his fortress on the 13th November. He defended the place with great bravery; but the English succeeded in storming it, and the chief was found among the slain. With this event terminated the first Afghán campaign; and a General Order, issued in January, 1840, announced the dissolution of the "Army of the Indus."

The force left in Kabool was placed under the command of Gen. Elphinstone, and for a time the country retained a show of perfect tranquillity. But this was altogether specious; the cloak under which the whole Afghán race were plotting the destruction of the invaders. The first signs of this conspiracy were seen at the commencement of 1840, in an insurrectionary movement among the Ghiljis, a tribe occupying the high mountain-territory between Kandahár and Kabool, who, accustomed

to wild independence, refused to acknowledge even a show of authority. Capt. Anderson and Col. Wallace led two different expeditions from opposite directions against them, and several of their strongholds being blown up they were obliged temporarily to submit. In the meantime Dost Mahomed, having found a friend in the Khán of Kokán, came back to Afghánistán to excite the country to a holy war for the expulsion of unbelieving foreigners. He was met and defeated by Col. Dennie, upon which he withdrew into Kohistán. He was again encountered by Gen. Sale, who gave him battle at Purwandurráh on the 2nd November, 1840. It was on this occasion that the 2nd Bengal Cavalry behaved with such cowardice as left no alternative but to expunge its name from the Army List. Sale succeeded, nevertheless, in pushing forward his infantry so as to dislodge Dost Mahomed from the strong position he occupied, which compelled him to surrender. He was thereupon sent down to India, and took up his residence at Mussourie, after visiting the Governor-General at Calcuttá.

The other contemporaneous events were: the defence of Káhun on the Indus frontier, which had been occupied by the English for the purpose of procuring supplies; the defeat and destruction of Lient. Clarke's party at the Nufoosk Pass; and the success of Major Clibborn at the same place, and his subsequent retreat. As a sequel to the second and third events, Capt. Brown, the defender of Káhun, was obliged to leave the fort, the Beloochees promising not to molest him if he retired to the plains, which promise was faithfully observed. The result of these reverses was a revolution in Khelát, which was lost for a time, but was afterwards reoccupied, a large army

under Názir Khán, the son of the previous chief, being routed in October, 1840.

In 1841, an attack on the Kojuks, a rude tribe that had refused to pay tribute to Sháh Soojá, was repulsed ; but another on a wild tribe in the Názeem valley was more fortunate. Such calls for the interference of the troops were in fact constant, most of the actions being successful, though a few were not. With the Ghiljis in particular the engagements were incessant, and their hostility towards the English was not unjustifiable. The Afgháns generally had throughout behaved unfaithfully with the English ; but the English had behaved unfaithfully with the Ghiljis. On the restoration of Sháh Soojá to the throne, an agreement was entered into with them by which an annual allowance was promised in the event of their keeping the Khoord-Kabool Pass open. The pass was kept clear by them for a time, but no allowance was paid ; and the English, who supported the cause of Sháh Soojá, and were a party to the agreement, were justly held responsible for the failure.

The Khoord-Kabool Pass was beset by the Ghiljis at the same time that the fanatical *moolláhs* were preaching a war of extermination against the English, and while Mahomed Akbar, the ablest and fiercest son of Dost Mahomed, was collecting troops all over the country for that purpose. It was temporarily cleared by the exertions of Gen. Sale and Col. Dennie ; but the Ghiljis only retired from one place to appear in another. The garrisons left at Kabool and Jellálábád were both hard pressed by them, especially the latter, for the relief of which Sale forced his way through the Jugduluk Pass, entering Jellálábád on the 13th November, 1841, from which date he held it on till succours reached him from Pesháwar.

The force left at Kabool after Sale's departure consisted only of one British regiment, two regiments of native infantry, part of a regiment of native cavalry, and some foot and horse artillery, exclusive of the Sháh's contingent. These troops were scattered in every direction, and some kept in the Bálá Hissár, or royal residence. The enemy took advantage of this; a sudden attack was made on the city on the 2nd November, 1841; the house occupied by Sir Alexander Burnes, the most competent civil officer with the army, was forced into and the inmates slaughtered; and the Shah's treasury was plundered. A brisk attack on the city even now might have retrieved this state of affairs; but none was attempted. The entire civil charge of the expedition devolved henceforth on Sir Wm. Hay Macnaghten, an officer as void of energy and decision as the Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Elphinstone, was; and between them two they managed to bring heavy disgraces on the English name. It is said that Mahomed Akbar swore that he would annihilate the whole garrison except one man, and carry the talé to Jellálábád. This boast could never have been actually realised but for the indecision of the higher English officers. Individual instances of gallantry and presence of mind were constant, and these kept the Afgháns in check for a time, till Mahomed Akbar arrived in person to superintend operations, when the attacks were renewed with greater vigour, and, owing to the vacillation of the English officers, generally crowned with success. In the last of these actions, on the 23rd November, 1841, the square of British infantry was broken, and all attempts to rally the men (H.M.'s 44th Regiment) proved vain, the whole force rushing back to the cantonment in tumultuary flight. The last to leave

the field was a regiment of native infantry—the 37th ; but the native cavalry behaved quite as disgracefully as H.M.'s 44th. The spirit of the whole army was now completely broken ; a series of negotiations for retreat followed ; and it was finally agreed that the English should evacuate Afghánistán on being allowed to retire unmolested and furnished with provisions and means of transport, Sháh Soojá being granted a pension, with the option of remaining at Kabool, or of going back to India with the returning army. But the agreement of the Afgháns was a mere blind for the treachery that was being planned by them. They only wanted time for the passes to be closed by winter, to fall upon and utterly annihilate the invaders who had desecrated their mountain-home. This gained, Akbar Khán proposed a fresh arrangement for consideration as being the best of all—namely, that Sháh Soojá be acknowledged as king, with himself, Akbar Khán, as his vizier ; and, pretending that a verbal discussion would settle the question soonest, he invited Macnaghten to a personal interview on the 23rd December, to put the question once for all at rest. The bait took ; Macnaghten went. It is said that he suspected treachery though he agreed to go, and that he requested Gen. Elphinstone to send a strong escort. But there was no reason for his having gone at all ; and, if he did so knowingly, he was all the more to blame, at least quite as much as Gen. Elphinstone was for his remissness in taking the necessary precautions against deceit. The conference being opened the English officers were gradually surrounded by a number of armed men ; when Akbar Khán tauntingly asked Macnaghten : “Are you the man to take my country ?” shooting him dead on the spot with a pistol which Macnaghten

had presented to him. Capt. Trevor, one of the officers with the envoy, was also killed ; but two others, Capts. Lawrence and Mackenzie, were protected by the other chiefs present, and thrown into a fort to save them from the fury of the mob.

There was no spirit in the English army to avenge the murder of their envoy. Men and officers were equally anxious to get out of the scrape, and a fresh treaty was entered into which provided for the troops being allowed to depart on leaving their guns and treasure behind them, and on bills being drawn on India for the payment of fourteen lakhs of rupees to the Afgháns. Nearly seventeen thousand men passed out from Kabool on these conditions, traversing a dreary path covered with snow, in the face of blood-thirsty barbarians seeking for their lives. The sufferings from frost, snow, and hunger were dreadful ; but this was slow work, much too slow to satisfy the vengeful Afghán. At the Tunghée Tárikee Pass began the work of butchery by which Akbar Khán sought for a quicker end—a general massacre by fire-arms, perpetrated by men perched on towering crags. It was resumed in the Tázeen valley, at Jugduluk, and at Gundámuk. A stand was made at Jugduluk, a few Europeans creeping up the acclivity of a hill to drive away their enemies, who were quickly repulsed ; but they came again and again, till the final stand at Gundámuk, on the 13th January, 1842, led to the general slaughter which had long before been determined upon, which left only one man, Dr. Brydon, to convey the tale to English ears at Jellálábád. Akbar Khán followed personally with an army of nine thousand men to lay siege to Jellálábád ; but the garrison turning out gave him battle and compelled him to fly towards Lughmán.

It was in this action, fought on the 7th April, 1842, that Col. Dennie was slain.

When the news of the Kabool disasters reached India every exertion was made to collect another strong army to wipe out the disgrace. The collection was made at Pesháwar, then belonging to the Sikhs, and eight thousand men being got together, they were placed under the command of Gen. Pollock and sent up through the Khyber Pass. Their passage was disputed by a large number of mountaineers who kept guard over the defile; but the opposition was soon mastered by the joint efforts of the European skirmishers and the horse-artillery; and the garrison at Jellálábád was relieved on the 16th April, or nine days after they had beaten Mahomed Akbar in the open field.

In the meantime Gen. Nott was beset at Kandahár, and held out as Sale did at Jellálábád. Akbar Khán attacked the place after his retreat from Jellálábád; but he fled on finding that the English were preparing to charge, and a very near approach to it was never afterwards attempted. Relief was brought to Kandahár by Gen. England, through Scinde, in May, 1842, after which the enemy were completely confounded, and obliged to retire. The only garrison, other than the Kabool one, which did not hold out was the garrison at Ghazni, Col. Palmer, who was in command of it, agreeing, on the 1st March, 1842, to evacuate the place, as the sepoys had become frost-bitten and unfit for duty. But the capitulation did not save the retiring soldiers, who vainly thought that they would be able to make good their retreat to Pesháwar. The fanatic Gházis fell on them on the way, and massacred them, while some of the officers, including Col. Palmer, were thrown into prison.

The general state of the country was at this time one of unmitigated anarchy and confusion. Sháh Soojá was assassinated, and his youngest son raised to the throne by one party, while another party opposed him. Akbar Khán affected a willingness to support the prince, on condition of being allowed to act as his vizier ; but the prince, suspecting the arrangement and not liking the position of a state-prisoner, sought refuge with Gen. Pollock, whom he urged to advance on Kabool. This was at last determined upon under orders from Calcuttá, Gen. Pollock from Jellálábád and Gen. Nott from Kandahár marching simultaneously on the capital to enforce the restoration of prisoners, and vindicate the superiority of the British arms. Akbar Khán was in great hopes of demolishing this force also ; but, on the 30th August, Gen. Nott defeated the party sent to intercept and destroy him, and, coming up to Ghazni immediately after, levelled it with the dust. Gen. Pollock made an equally illustrious march through Gundámuk and Jugduluk, driving the Afgháns before him over that very ground where a few months before an army of seventeen thousand men had been treacherously slaughtered. At Huft Kohtul, in the Tázeen Pass, a great victory was gained on the 13th September, after which no opposition was offered in the Khoord-Kabool Pass. The two generals then joined their forces on the race-ground at Kabool, on the 15th September, and, entering Bálá Hissár, floated the English colours from its summit.

The Afghán army now retreated to Kohistán, taking refuge at Istálif. It was pursued to that place and dislodged from it. Akbar Khán then hurried with his prisoners towards Turkeistán ; but, on reaching Bamián, Sáleh Mahomed, who had charge of them, and who was

represented to be a man who would do anything for money, sold them to the English for a lump sum of Rs. 20,000, and a pension of Rs. 1000 a month. The total number of prisoners released was one hundred and twenty, of whom nine were ladies and three the wives of non-commissioned officers. It was stated by the natives that many more women had been captured and distributed by Akbar Khán among his chiefs, whom in an enemy's country it was found impossible to trace out or get at. The English troops took upon themselves the easier task of collecting the bones of their slaughtered countrymen to give them a decent burial; and these for the most part were found headless, the Afgháns having carried off the skulls as trophies. As Akbar Khán retreated before the English no further operations against them were undertaken. Sundry towns and markets were reduced in several places and burnt to the ground, after which the army retreated with the prisoners recovered, back to India, through the Khyber Pass.

A more terrible discomfiture never befell the English arms in India than that in Afghánistán. The gates of Somnáth were among the trophies recovered from Ghazni, and the rotten planks infested with white ants were, after the lapse of eight centuries, restored to Guzerát under a vaunting proclamation of Lord Ellenborough, which paraded the success of the enterprise. If his lordship had been an orthodox Hindu he would have been entitled for this act of devotion to be burnt after death in the sacred *ghát* of Manikarnika, at Benáres. But being what he was, his act was appreciated all over India, by some as the eccentricity of genius, by many more as the folly of a madman. The British reputation for valour was not thereby enhanced; and, indeed, it is the belief to this

day, not only of the Afgháns, but of all the native powers and races in and about India, that the English in this enterprise suffered a disgraceful and disastrous defeat.

There was a recurrence of Russophobia after the lapse of forty years, and a fresh expedition went up to Afghánistán, in 1878, for a *rectification of the frontier*, as the English Government enunciated it. The facilities under which this new invasion was undertaken were of course much greater than those which had existed in 1838-42, and the military operations were necessarily more successful to that extent. But the war was an unjust one, and the frontier did not require to be rectified; and the final results of the aggression were almost quite as unsatisfactory as were those on the first occasion.

The story of this second war is briefly as follows: Shere Áli, the ruler of Afghánistán, who was believed at the outset to be the creature of the British Government, was suspected later to be favouring the Russians by preference. A British embassy was refused admittance into the country by him on the plea that it would be disagreeable to the Afgháns; but a Russian mission was shortly after received with honour. This led to an angry correspondence, followed by a declaration of war, whereupon a British army was sent up to Afghánistán by three different routes—namely, the Khyber, the Khoorum, and the Bolan Passes. Shere Áli fled before it to Turkeistán, and there died. A treaty was then entered into with his son, Yákoob Khán, at Gundámuk, by which the British frontier was *rectified*—that is, advanced to the crest or furthest sides of the passes, while a British Resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari, was admitted into Kabool. It was the old story again, reacted almost in the same manner as before. Within a few months after his admission the

Resident was attacked and murdered, together with his escort, which led to the occupation of Kabool and the forced deportation of Yákoob Khán to India, a Dooráni chief being simultaneously placed in power in Kandáhár. But the Afgháns would not tolerate a British occupation of their country now more than they did before, and marching under Áyoob Khán, the brother of Yákoob, completely defeated a British force of nearly three thousand men, at a place called Maiwand, between Kandáhár and the Helmund river, which virtually led to the evacuation of their country, under cover of an opportune victory gained by Sir Frederick Roberts at Mazrá, over Áyoob, after Ábdoor Rahamán Khán, the eldest male representative of the stock of Dost Mahomed, had been recognised and placed on the throne. There was no glory to win from the struggle, and none whatever was obtained.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE CONQUEST OF SCINDE.

A.D. 1813.

THE discomfiture of the English in Afghánistán in 1838-42, led to the conquest of Scinde. This country was at one time owned by the Afgháns, but was latterly ruled over by the Ámeers, in baronial fashion, on the feudal system. Its native population is extremely unwarlike, very much like that of Bengal, the dominant races having always been foreigners—either Afgháns or Beloochees. The English, after many persistent efforts, were able to establish commercial relations with the country, by which the right of navigating the Indus was conceded to them, with the privilege of sending a British Minister to the Court at Hyderábád; and on this basis they assumed many other rights. Sháh Soojá having claimed tribute from the Ámeers on the plea of Scinde having at one time been a dependency of Kabool, the English enforced the payment of the claim. When the invasion of Afghánistán was determined upon, the passage of the English army through the Punjáb being refused, was effected through Scinde. Throughout the entire period of the Afghán war the Indus was used as the high-road for the transmission of troops and munitions of war, and, to facilitate this, a large military force was stationed at

Tattá, for the maintenance of which a contribution was exacted from the Ámeers, on the ground that they derived much benefit from its presence there ! These extortions very naturally incited the Ámeers to intrigue with Persia and the Sikhs at Mooltán against the English power. "We are anxious for your friendship," said the Ámeers to Sir James Outram, "but cannot submit to be perpetually persecuted." The government of Lord Ellenborough, however, did not view the matter in the same light, and decided on recovering the prestige of the English arms, lost in Afghánistán, by the conquest of Scinde. The command of the war was intrusted to Sir Charles Napier, and it was made out between him and his brother, the historian, that great glory was won by the exploits which were achieved.

The opening operation of Sir Charles Napier was the capture of a fort named Emáumgurrh, the plea for it being that two of the Ámeers, who were kinsmen, had quarrelled ! The fort was so situated as to be nearly inaccessible, the march to it being long, and lying the whole way through a desert. A select force of five hundred men was pushed up against it, and reached it on the 12th January, 1843. The place was defended by two thousand men, and the skirts of the desert were crowded with fanatic Beloochees. But, though the enemy repeatedly exhibited their alertness on the road, the fort on being approached was found to be deserted. The energy of Sir Charles Napier was thereupon exercised in shattering its defences to atoms, after which the expeditionary force retraced its steps. As all this occurred when the English were yet avowedly at peace with the Ámeers, it soon became obvious what the real intent of the former was. The Ámeers did not venture even now to take to the offensive. The only opposition

offered came from the Beloochees, who resented the advance of the British army by an attack on the residence of the British Commissioner at Hyderábád. The attack was commenced with a hot firing, which was kept up for hours; and the defenders of the place, finding it impossible to hold out, retired from it, effecting their retreat without difficulty, and reaching the Commander-in-Chief's camp at Hallá, in safety. This led to the battle of Meeánee, which was fought on the 17th February, 1843, in which twenty-two thousand Beloochees were defeated by an English force numbering three thousand men. The position of the enemy was formidable, and terrible was the resistance they offered. Sword in hand they braved every danger; the greater part of the battle was a hand-to-hand fight; and their charge was so furious that it was at one time apprehended that their great superiority in numbers might leave the victory in their hands. But they knew nothing of discipline, and were easily out-manceuvred; and, on their being broken by a cavalry charge, several of their guns were captured, while they themselves were compelled to fly. Not a single prisoner was taken: the Beloochees never give quarter to an enemy, and on account of their vast numbers the English were compelled to imitate their policy.

The battle of Meeánee was followed by the surrender of Hyderábád, where a large amount of specie, valued at three millions sterling, was found. The chief of Meerpore still held out, which led to a second engagement—the battle of Dubbá—which was fought on the banks of the Fulailee on the 24th March, the Beloochees being about twenty-five thousand strong, and the English scarcely five thousand. Like the action at Meeánee this also was hotly contested, but by undisciplined men against disciplined forces, and

the result necessarily was, as before, the total defeat of the enemy. The occupation of Meerpore, which followed, closed the war. The success of the English filled the inhabitants of the country with the greatest pleasure, the misrule of the Ámeers having been nothing but an unmitigated evil to them. This was the one only justification of the conquest that was achieved.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE GWÁLIOR WAR.

A.D. 1843.

THE death of Jánoki Ráo Scindíá without issue left the administration of his country in the hands of a widow of thirteen and a licentious Court. The widow adopted a son, a boy of eight years; but this did not in any way strengthen the government, which was constantly troubled by insurrections and conspiracies: and its difficulties were aggravated by an irrepressible army of thirty thousand men. The English Government considered itself bound by its treaties with the deceased rájáh to protect his successor, and it occurred to Lord Ellenborough that the best way to secure that end would be to occupy the country, quell all the disturbances which had arisen, and enforce guarantees for the future security of the State. To effect this two armies were despatched to Gwálior, one from Ágrá, which was commanded by Gen. Gough and accompanied by the Governor-General in person, and the other—a division of the main army—from Bundelkund, which was commanded by Gen. Grey. The first proceeded straight on to Maharájpore, where it found the Mahrattá army drawn up in a strong position which it had carefully intrenched. The English forces were about fourteen thousand strong, with forty pieces of artillery; while the

Mahrattás were eighteen thousand strong and had one hundred guns. The battle was fought on the 29th December, 1843, and was extremely sanguinary. The Mahrattás, driven from their guns, fought sword in hand with the most determined courage; but they were eventually beaten at every point. Dislodged from Mahárájpore they made a stand again at Chondá, but, after a desperate struggle there, were entirely defeated. Their loss exceeded three thousand men, while that of the English was about one-fourth of that number.

On the same day Gen. Grey obtained a second victory at Punniár, over ten or twelve thousand Mahrattás, who lost all their guns; and the consequence of these two victories was the prompt submission of the Gwálior *durbár* to everything that the Governor-General proposed. The Mahrattá troops were now disbanded, and replaced by a British contingent paid for by the Gwálior government. The young rájáh was at the same time installed on the *guddee* with great ceremony; while an English officer, Col. Stubbs, was appointed governor of the fort of Gwálior.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE PUNJÁB WAR.

A.D. 1845 to 1849.

THE consolidation of the Sikh power and the organisation of the Sikh army were both achieved by Runjeet Sing, one of the greatest rulers that India ever knew. His ancestors appeared as leaders of enterprise on the decline of the Mogul power; but for a long time the chiefs were dis-united, and acknowledged no systematic government or authority. The first warrior of note in the family was, we have said, Charat Sing, who founded a *Sirdári*, or chieftainship, which was expanded into a sovereignty by his descendants, Mahá Sing and Runjeet. The improvements effected by the last were the most considerable, and included the formation of a large army officered by French and Italian adventurers trained in the wars of Napoleon I., which was really as powerful as any in India. Runjeet nevertheless, always maintained a friendly behaviour towards the English, well knowing that his only real danger could come from that quarter, if he provoked it. When the map of India was opened out before him and it was explained that the English possessions were marked red on it while his own were marked blue, the old far-seeing soldier remarked with a sigh that, in course of time, the whole map

would come to be marked red. This prophecy was fulfilled very soon after his death : the greatest king of the race being virtually also the last.

The immediate successor of Runjeet was Khurruck Sing, who was totally incompetent to control the wild spirits of which his army was composed. His Court soon became a focus of intrigues, and the intriguers found it most convenient to direct the ambition of the soldiery towards the conquest of the English, whom all the Sikhs, old Runjeet excepted, had always believed to be weaker than themselves. Nor did this state of things mend when, by the death of Khurruck Sing, and the murder of his son Nao Nehál Sing a short time after, the throne was assumed by Shere Sing, another son of Runjeet, though not acknowledged by him. Shere in his turn was assassinated as unfit to reign, upon which Dhulleep Sing, then an infant in the nursery, was placed on the throne, under the nominal guardianship of his mother, a frivolous woman, entirely governed by her favourites. The real rulers of the country during all this period were the leaders of the army ; and, priding in their own soldierly qualities, they thought too lightly of a contest with the English, which all Punjáb seemed most anxious to provoke.

The army to attack the English frontier was accordingly openly organised. No attempt was made by the Sikhs to conceal their intentions ; and a fair and timely warning of them was therefore obtained, which might have enabled the English to reinforce every post on the frontier that was weak, and mature all arrangements necessary for the occasion, if they had only believed that the Sikhs would really venture to invade their territory. To the last moment, however, the English opinion of the Sikh soldiery was a contemptible one, and the possibility of an

invasion by them was utterly scouted ; and it was for this reason only that the first battle was not the last.

The opening act of aggression on the part of the Sikhs was the seizure of a number of camels from the left bank of the Sutledge. This was followed by the crossing of troops, in the neighbourhood of Ferozepore, in December, 1845, when Lál Sing, with twenty-five thousand Sikhs and eighty-eight guns, took possession of the wells around the village of Ferozeshuhur, while Tej Sing, with twenty-three thousand Sikhs and sixty-seven guns, occupied a position opposite to Ferozepore. There was no room for further hesitation on the part of the English after these acts. A proclamation of the Governor-General declared that measures for vindicating the authority of the English Government would be taken at once ; and the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, simultaneously collected his forces at Moodkee to repel the enemy, the whole rank and file under him amounting to about twelve thousand and five hundred men, with forty-two guns. Tej Sing hastened to meet these forces with an army of thirty thousand Sikhs and forty guns, and offered them battle on the 18th December, being still determined to assume the aggressive. The contest which followed was well maintained on both sides, and was prolonged to an hour and a half after nightfall. The artillery of the enemy, well served at the commencement, was, however, eventually paralysed, and that being succeeded by an attack of the English infantry and the use of that never-failing weapon, the bayonet, the Sikhs were driven from position to position, and entirely defeated. The loss on both sides was very heavy. The enemy fell back on their camp at Ferozeshuhur, while the English forces returned to Moodkee.

It was now determined to give the Sikhs battle on the

ground they had themselves chosen, and to this end a junction of the forces under Sir John Littler with those of the Commander-in-Chief was effected, which raised the whole English army to about eighteen thousand men and sixty-five guns. The strength of the enemy was estimated at about fifty thousand men and one hundred and eight guns; and they were led by Lál Sing. The engagement took place on the 21st December, and was commenced by a heavy cannonade. The most heroic efforts were made on both sides, and night fell while the conflict was yet raging. The Sikh guns were particularly well served in this battle, and fired quicker than the English guns—namely, at the rate of three firings against two; and during the whole night this harassing fire was maintained. But retribution came with daylight, when the English infantry formed line, and, being supported on both flanks by horse-artillery, bore down every opposition before them, dislodging the enemy from their entire position. This left the latter no option but to abandon the village of Ferozeshuhur, which they did after firing several hundred rounds of their *zumbooruks*, or camel-swivels, besides making other futile demonstrations, including a distant cannonade. Tej Sing, with his fresh battalions of *Ghorechurrás*, or feudal horse-soldiers, now made a move to retrieve the day, but the command to “form square” was instantly given on the English side, and all that the Sikhs could do was to open on the squares a continued and incessant discharge of artillery, which compelled them to change their position several times, when all of a sudden the Sikh guns became silent from having exhausted their ammunition. There was no alternative now for the enemy but to fly. The English, however, had suffered so much that they were not able to

pursue them, and the advantage gained could not therefore be properly followed up.

The next engagement took place on the 28th January, 1846, at *Áliwál*, where a chief named *Runjore Sing*, was intrenched with fifteen thousand men and fifty-six guns. He was attacked by *Sir Harry Smith* with ten thousand men. The action was commenced by a sweeping and successful charge made by the English cavalry; but the Sikhs did not easily give way. In one charge of infantry on H.M.'s 16th Lancers they actually threw away their muskets and came on with their swords and targets against the lance; and it was not till they were thrice rode through that they were finally defeated, and driven across the *Sutledge*, with the loss of fifty-two guns and their camp, baggage, and stores.

After this the position at *Sobraón*, which was occupied by all the Sikhs who had retreated from *Ferozeshuhur*, and was defended by a triple line of breastworks flanked by formidable redoubts, was assailed and carried on the 10th February. The redoubts were manned by thirty-four thousand Sikhs who had seventy guns with them, while the assailing force numbered sixteen thousand men and ninety-nine guns. Throughout this engagement there was one continued roar of guns and mortars; but the cannonade of the ninety-nine English guns was unable to silence the seventy Sikh guns, which returned flash for flash and fire for fire, and the struggle had to be finally decided by musketry and the bayonet. On the English side the infantry and the guns now aided each other correlatively, and by this process each defensible position of the enemy was gradually captured, after which the fire of the Sikhs slackened and then ceased altogether, the victors pressing on them from every side.

But even at this extremity, the Sikh soldiery did not cease to fight vigorously, though they were precipitated in masses into the Sutledge, which had suddenly risen and was scarcely fordable. Hundreds fell under the cannonade behind them; thousands were drowned in attempting to cross the swollen current that lay before: but still no quarter was asked for, for they remembered that they had given none. In this engagement sixty-seven pieces of cannon were captured. The result of the victory was to scatter the Sikhs in every direction, which enabled the British army to cross the Sutledge and occupy Láhore. Dhulleep Sing, however, was retained on the throne; but a treaty was concluded with him by which the Punjáb government agreed to pay one crore and a half of rupees as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, to surrender all the guns that had ever been pointed against the English, and to disband the turbulent portion of their troops for ever. Of the indemnity two-thirds could not afterwards be made good, upon which its equivalent in territory was ceded—namely, Cashmere and the hill-states from the Beyáh to the Indus, which were sold by the English government to Goláb Sing, who had opened the negotiations for peace.

The government of Sir Henry Hardinge left a garrison at Láhore of ten thousand men, under Sir John Littler. A short time after this, it was considered expedient to remove the governor of Mooltán, named Moolráj, from his post, and appoint one Khán Sing to succeed him. Moolráj affected to acquiesce in the arrangement; but, when Mr. Vans Agnew, an assistant to the British Resident at Láhore, and Lieut. Anderson were sent to Mooltán to complete it, they were both captured and put to death. This set the whole country once again

ablaze, as the Sikhs, though defeated before, had not then been completely subdued. The outbreak at Mooltán was followed by the discovery of a conspiracy against the English at Láhore, in the neighbourhood of which a *guru*, or priest, named Maháráj Sing, having raised the cry of revolt, was able to collect a numerous force of the disbanded Sikhs, who successfully prevented the British forces there from attempting any movement on Mooltán.

It was now that Lieut. Edwardes, who was employed with a small force on the Indus in the collection of land-tax and the settlement of the country, succeeded by a series of active movements to distract the attention of Moolráj, till, effecting a junction with Col. Cortlandt, who commanded a division of four thousand men at Duraye Íshmael Khán, they were able to oppose the troops of Moolráj, and compelled them to take shelter within the walls of Mooltán. This was followed by the advance of Gen. Whish to the spot, with an additional force, which increased the investing army to twenty-eight thousand men; but he was paralysed momentarily by the defection of the Sikh General, Shere Sing, who had hitherto affected to be on the side of Dhulleep Sing and the English, but had been secretly organising a plot of treachery and treason, and now went over to join the insurgents, and effected a junction with his father, Chutter Sing, which placed a force of thirty thousand men under him. To break up this combination the Commander-in-Chief advanced in person upon Shere Sing's head-quarters at Rámnugger on the Chenáb, in December, 1848. The action at Rámnugger was not a very decisive one; but that at Sádoolápore which followed it was successful, and forced the enemy to retire behind the Jhelum. This freed Gen. Whish to renew the siege of Mooltán

with an army intermediately augmented to thirty-two thousand men and one hundred and fifty pieces of artillery. The town was stormed on the 2nd January, 1849, after which preparations were made to storm the citadel, which induced Moolráj to surrender at discretion ; upon which he was tried, and sentenced to death, the sentence being subsequently commuted to imprisonment for life, which Moolráj accepted as a refinement of cruelty.

In the meantime Shere Sing, whose army had increased to forty thousand men, was overtaken by Lord Gough at the village of Chillianwálláh, on the 13th January. As in most of the previous engagements, the enemy were here also the first to open fire, upon which the English drew up in order of battle, and commenced a heavy cannonade. This was promptly returned by the Sikh guns from positions covered by jungle, with galling effect. The firing of the enemy was so awful that several brigades were obliged to fall back ; while one (Pope's brigade) was so completely repulsed that the Sikhs pursued it up to the English guns, of which six were captured, though two had afterwards to be abandoned. It was only the arrival of the artillery reserves and the steadiness of the infantry on the English side that subsequently changed this aspect of affairs. It would be too much to say that the Sikhs were defeated. They left the field of battle in the possession of the English, but succeeded in carrying off the four English guns they had taken, together with five stand of colours, besides which they were also able to retake and remove most of their own guns which the English had at first been able to capture. The loss of the enemy was heavier at Ferozeshuhur and Sobráon than at Chillianwálláh, but the last was decidedly the best of the battles they fought, and they never acknowledged it as a defeat. It was in

fact a drawn battle, in which the advantages gained were mostly on the side of the Sikhs, who continued to occupy their own position without any attempt being made by the English to dislodge them.

An engagement so indecisive could of course not be final. Instead of breaking the spirit of the enemy it only raised false hopes in them that a little more energy and obstinacy on their part would lead to the annihilation of the British power. The action at Goojerát, which was fought on the 21st February, was the necessary consequence. The Sikh army engaged was sixty thousand strong, with fifty-nine guns; while the army under Lord Gough, which had been joined by that under Gen. Whish, numbered about twenty-six thousand men. The commanders on both sides had become wiser from the struggles which had preceded, and the present field was necessarily contested with a greater amount of skill. But the movements of Shere Sing betrayed a perturbed mind, and though the Sikhs fought with the hardihood expected of them, a cannonade of about three hours silenced all their guns, after which their squadrons were broken through by the English cavalry; while the subsequent advance of the whole British infantry in one body converted their retreat into a rout. This completely shattered the Sikh power, and led to the surrender of the entire army, with all the principal sirdárs, including Shere Sing and Chutter Sing. All the cannon yet uncaptured was at the same time given up; sixteen thousand soldiers actually laid down their arms; the Afgháns, who had aided the Sikhs in the last two battles, fled in dismay to their own country; and the whole of the Punjáb was immediately annexed, and became part and parcel of the British Empire.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE SEPOY WAR.

A.D. 1857-58.

THE Indian army was at one time one of the stanchest and most faithful in the world, and, considering that it was composed entirely of subdued races, it was strange that it was so. There had been minor outbreaks in it in the past, like those at Vellore in 1806, at Barrackpore in 1824, and at Ferozepore in 1844; but these only involved the disobedience of one regiment, or of two or three regiments, at a time, and scarcely exceeded the disaffection that is occasionally exhibited in the best-disciplined armies of Europe. For a conquered nation the sepoys had always shown the greatest reverence and admiration for, and the greatest devotion to, their conquerors. History contains no better instance of fidelity on the part of hirelings and a subject race.

But the defects of British temper were hard to bear, and were calculated to provoke some day a reactionary outbreak. The loyalty of the sepoy came in time to be confounded with servility; his faithfulness to his salt was quoted as a proof of his meanness. Cowardice could not be imputed to him, for he had fought as bravely for his masters as the soldiers drafted out of England at ten times his cost; but that faithfulness on which he prided

was discredited and even contemned. His pay indeed was scanty as compared with that of his European comrade, but he did not mind that; what he did mind was that, while the prejudices of his European comrade were treated with respect, his own were laughed at, and his religion broadly abused. These causes together began gradually to give birth to a general discontent, which culminated on the annexation of Oude, from which the Bengal portion of the army had always, for the most part, been recruited. It is not that the sepoys felt particularly aggrieved by the annexation. They knew well enough that under the English Government they would be better cared for than they had ever been under their native princes. But their connections with the *Tálookdárs*, or chiefs, were naturally intimate, and those chiefs found it easy to practise on their feelings and fears.

The ostensible cause of the Mutiny was fear of religion and Caste; but it was not the only, or even the principal cause. The mine was long ready for the spark which at last ignited it. The English officer was at one time loved and feared as a god; but that was when he identified himself with the regiment he commanded, ate even the *lúdoos*¹ (a native sweetmeat) which the sepoys gave to him! The officer who looked with ill-disguised scorn on his men had no right to expect the same affection and devotion from them; and, if military discipline enforced an outward observance of respect, the show was an outward one only. Many of the officers were unacquainted with their men, and kept aloof from them; and, considering the honourable profession they followed, those men could scarcely do otherwise than repay such indifference with hatred and contempt.

¹ It is related of Lord Gough that he used to do this frequently.

These reasons account for the wide-spread disaffection that was discovered. The ostensible pleas for the outbreak were, we have said, fears for the loss of Caste and faith. The fables on which those fears were based were preposterous ; but the fears were not the less genuine. It is said that Russian spies fanned them, to avenge in India the Crimean defeat ; it is certain that the titled *budmáshes* in India itself did so. The sea-imported salt was adulterated with ground bones ; the *ghee*, or melted butter, was cheapened with animal fat : such were the stories sedulously propagated, the conviction of the truth of which was firmly impressed, not only on the sepoys, but on all the lower classes throughout the land. Nay, cows' bones were believed to be mixed with flour, and the water of wells polluted by flesh and bones being* thrown into them. If the men were asked : " With what object could all this have been done ? " the reply was prompt : " Simply to make one caste of us all "—which was the constant burden of the missionary's song. The Russian spies knew well how to make the English unpopular, and, if they had a hand in the matter, they did their work beautifully. The titled charlatans in the country understood the game still better, and left no stone unturned to serve their own little ends. It was they who propagated the so-called prophecy that the English Government was destined to last for a hundred years only, and having commenced in 1757, would assuredly terminate in 1857 ; it was they who sent round the mysterious cakes to ascertain the feelings of the entire army, and excite the lukewarm to join the insurgent cause.

The greased cartridges were the spark that ignited the mine. Before the Enfield rifle was introduced the cartridges in use were made of a patch of cloth smeared with

a mixture of wax and oil. For the new rifle the projectile had to be greased to facilitate its passage down the bore. There is no doubt that animal fat was used—beef fat, if not that of pigs; and to *touch* such fat was, to the Hindu sepoy at least, as revolting as to *bite* off any part of its covering. The change made in the platoon exercise, therefore, by which the ends of the cartridges were directed to be torn with the fingers, instead of being bitten off with the teeth, besides coming too late, did not really obviate the objection raised against their use.

The first symptoms of open discontent were exhibited at Dum Dum, in January, 1857. A low caste *láscár* had applied to a Bráhma sepoy for water from his *lotáh*. This was indignantly refused by the latter, who asked the *láscár* at the same time how he dared to make such a request. The reply was that the Caste on which the Bráhma prided so much did not really exist, for all the sepoys, both Bráhmans and others, were alike required to make use of cartridges smeared with the fat of cows and pigs. The taunt ran like wild-fire from Dum Dum to Barrackpore, where discontent was shown by several acts of incendiarism. It blazed forth fully in an attempt made, in March, by a sepoy of the 34th Regiment, named Mungul Pánday, to raise all his comrades to rebellion, and in his wounding the Adjutant and Sergeant-Major of his regiment. With the exception of one man, a Mahomedan, no one volunteered to defend their officers, while, on Mungul Pánday being arrested, they all shouted for his release. Mungul Pánday and his chief abettor, the Jemádár of his regiment, were tried, condemned, and hanged; and the whole of the 34th Regiment was disbanded.

The men of the 19th N. I. at Berhampore simultane-

ously showed their teeth. They refused unanimously to receive the ammunition proposed to be supplied to them for a parade, and then broke into the armoury and took possession of their muskets. Vacillating subsequently, they were induced to lay down their arms, after which, with the assistance of the irregular cavalry and artillerymen at the station who remained loyal, they were marched down to Barrackpore, and disbanded. They received their punishment very sorrowfully; said that they had been instigated into revolt by the 34th; and only asked to be allowed to attack that regiment and punish it, before being sent adrift for good. But this request was of course not complied with.

At about the same time two sepoys of the 70th N. I. and one of their officers were convicted in Calcutta of having conspired to attack the fort, a mad idea, for which they were dismissed the service, though the more appropriate punishment at the time would have been imprisonment, since, mad or not, the men were certainly disaffected, and entertained treasonable intents which they should not have been permitted to ventilate. The disaffection was more general at Umbállá, where the 36th N. I. gave vent to it by incendiary acts on a large scale. At Lucknow, also, the 7th Oude Irregulars exhibited the same feeling, and, being drawn up on parade for the purpose of being disbanded, threw down their arms and fled; a certain portion of them being successfully pursued and brought back as prisoners.

The general revolt dates from the outbreak at Meerut, in the first week of May, when eighty-five men of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry refused to receive any cartridges, though they were asked to use, not the new ones, but those to which they were accustomed. The recusants

were tried and sentenced to imprisonment from six to ten years, and then marched off to prison on the 9th. On the next day the place was broken into by their comrades, and the prisoners discharged. The 3rd Cavalry was now joined by the 11th and 20th N. I. They all rushed to their arms, and, taking possession of them, butchered every European, including females and children, who came in their way, massacring many native inhabitants also, without discrimination, and setting fire to all buildings they could reach. They then proceeded to Delhi on the 11th, incited that city to revolt, and then initiated there the same course of massacre and arson as at Meerut, men being recklessly hunted down, women violated and hacked into pieces, and little children tossed on the points of bayonets with fiendish delight. After satiating their appetites in this manner they went up to the palace of the king, an old man of eighty years, whom they proclaimed sovereign of India, a terrible responsibility which his fears prevented him from refusing. It is simply absurd to say that the Mutiny was organised and matured by him. No one in the palace was fit to do either. He joined the movement only from fear; perhaps also from hope.

The garrison at Delhi consisted of three native regiments—the 38th, 54th, and 74th—and a battery of native artillery. All these made common cause with their comrades of Meerut and the rabble of the city; there was evidently previous concert between the parties thus brought together. An immense supply of war materials was in the magazine at Delhi. The mutineers trying to reach these, Lieut. Willoughby ordered the magazine to be blown up, and was himself so severely injured by the explosion that he died of his wounds. Many of the mutineers also were killed, and that enabled the remain-

ing European inhabitants of the place to make a run for Karnál, which was reached by some, though they were hotly pursued.

When the news of these risings reached Calcuttá there was a general panic among the white inhabitants, with vows of vengeance uttered in bated breath. The only man really equal to the occasion was the Governor-General, Lord Canning, who was loyally aided by several eminent civilian advisers. He had only two English regiments in Calcuttá, and could not send them off to Delhi at once ; but he instantly applied to Lord Elgin and Gen. Ashburnham, who were proceeding to China at the head of the expedition directed against that country, begging of them to divert their forces for the rescue of India ; and he simultaneously asked the Governors of Madrás and Bombay to send up promptly as much assistance as they could spare. The China-expedition forces did not arrive in time to assist materially in the reconquest of India. They reached Calcuttá in September, 1857, and could only be employed against Lucknow, which was relieved in November following. But the assurance that they were coming was a bulwark of hope and strength to the English already in the country, and enabled them to get through the stupendous work that lay before them.

The infection from Meerut and Delhi was first caught at Lucknow and Cawnpore, and spread thence down to Ázimgurh and Benáres. At Lucknow, the first symptoms of disaffection were shown by the 7th Oude Irregulars so early as the 2nd May, after which a general discontent among the troops continued, which found vent on the 30th idem, when nearly all the native regiments rebelled together, and fled towards Seetápore, whither they were pursued by Gen. Lawrence, who was however not able to

capture many of the fugitives. This was followed by an insurrection in the city, and the assemblage of some seven or eight thousand rebels on the Fyzábád road. Lawrence attacked these confidently, but was beaten back, and, finding that the cantonments and forts could not long be safely held, he, with all the Europeans at the place, withdrew into the Residency, where they were closely besieged.

On the 3rd June, the 17th N. I. at Ázimgurh rose, but, abstaining from massacres, rode off towards Gházee pore. This led to an attempt being made on the 4th June to disarm the 37th N. I. at Benáres, which was resisted, whereupon the Madrás troops under Col. Neill began to fire upon them, which sent them flying in confusion.

At Cawnpore, the 2nd Cavalry and 1st N. I. broke out on the 4th June, and on the 5th were joined by the 53rd, and 56th N. I., over all of whom Náná Sáheb, of Bithoor, a titled miscreant, the adopted son of the deposed Peshwá (see Chapter XLII., p. 244), assumed a sort of general command. The Europeans here, about nine hundred souls, took refuge within a feeble intrenchment hurriedly put up, which still held out for nineteen days, after which period they capitulated, Náná agreeing to convey them safely down the Ganges to Alláhábád. But they had scarcely embarked when, at a given signal, the boatmen leapt from their vessels into the river, while a murderous fire was opened on the passengers, and the thatched roofs of the boats were set on flame. Only four Europeans escaped. Those who did not perish in the attack were taken prisoners, along with the women and children; and these, with one hundred and twenty-six fugitives from Futtehgurh, were all butchered together in their prison-house just the day before Gen. Havelock arrived to rescue them. This tale of terror has been

frequently described. It is scarcely possible to imagine how horrible the reality was.

The next to rise was the 6th N. I. at Alláhábád, which did so on the first week in June, after it had voluntarily come forward to be allowed to march against the Delhi mutineers ; and it was soon joined by the Oude Horse. A Mahomedan Moulavi set himself up in this place as the representative of the emperor of Delhi, and directed all the acts of violence that were perpetrated, till Col. Neill was able to save the station, though unfortunately not without punishing the guiltless with the guilty, according to his wont.

The foci of rebellion now were Delhi and Lucknow, the latter having Cawnpore for its chief outpost. The other places where the infection had also spread were Juánpore, Futtelghurh, Rohilkund, and all the more important stations in Oude. In Central India, the Ságur and Nerbuddá districts were intensely agitated, and so also was Bundelkund, while Jhánsi figured as the capital of outrage and revolt. There was revolt also at Nusseerábád and Ncemuch, and in the dominions of Holkár and Scindia, though the chiefs themselves remained faithful to the Government, their troops marching off to join the insurgents elsewhere. In the Punjáb, the disaffected at Meeán Meer and Pesháwar were early disarmed, but there were risings at Murdun, Jullundhur, and Loodianá, all of which however were vigorously suppressed : and a few sepoys only were able to escape from those places to swell the insurgent ranks at Delhi.

The first advance of a British army against Delhi was made under Sir H. Barnard, who laid siege to the city on the 8th June. He was not permitted to take up a position unopposed, and in the conflict which ensued, the

mutineers were actually headed by European traitors! When the complaint was so loud and bitter against the faithlessness of a conquered race, what shall we say of the English, Scotch, and Irish deserters who fought against their own countrymen for filthy lucre, to aid a rotten cause? The mutineers were frequently beaten back, but Barnard was not able to take Delhi by a *coup*. He was not able even really to invest the city, and several times had great difficulty in repelling the enemy. He at last died, worn out by fatigue and vexation, and his successor, Gen. Reid, resigning from ill-health, the command of the siege devolved on Brig.-Gen. Wilson. The entire force before Delhi at this moment amounted to about seven thousand men, while the number of the mutineers within it was not less than sixteen thousand, and was increasing daily. Brig.-Gen. Nicholson arrived with further reinforcements on the 14th August, and commenced active operations by a victory gained over a rebel army at Nuzuffgurh on the 24th. The siege preparations to cannonade the city were now more nimbly proceeded with, and two breaches being effected, an assault was made on the 14th September. The contest was a most sanguinary one, but in great part successful. The assaulting party had been divided into four columns, of which one only was defeated and driven back, while the other three gained all the towers, bastions, and ramparts they had operated against. The combat was continued all through the 16th, 17th, and 18th September, on which last date a considerable portion of the south part of the city was taken. On the 19th an attack was made on the palace, one of the gates of which was blown open, after which the city was fully occupied. No quarter was given on either side. The king and his family fled, but were

overtaken by Capt. Hodson, and this brought the siege of Delhi to a close. The pursuit of the rebels thence was conducted by Col. Greathed with crushing activity.

In the direction of the other great centre of revolt, the first battle of Havelock with the rebel army was fought at Futtehpore, and the next near the Pándoo Nuddee, in both of which the enemy were defeated. It is affirmed that this second action, which was fought on the 15th July, hastened the catastrophe at Cawnpore; but there is no doubt that Náná had planned the outrage from the commencement. He was defeated in person at Akerwá, on the Grand Trunk Road, on the 16th, Havelock proceeding thence to Cawnpore on the 17th, to find with grief and vexation that he had come too late. He hunted Náná to Bithoor, and took and levelled his palace with the ground; but the fiend bore a charmed life, and effected his escape. Neill was now sent for from Alláhábád, and was left at Cawnpore, where he perpetrated those avenging acts of violence which brought so much discredit on the English name. Havelock in the meantime endeavoured to pass on to Lucknow, and on the way to it gave Náná another terrible defeat at Oonáo. But the enemy mustered strong around him, and he was eventually obliged to fall back and join his forces with those of Neill; nor was he able to stir forth again till Gen. Outram came up with further reinforcements in the middle of September, when they all resumed their march on Lucknow, after winning a splendid victory at Mungulwar, on the 21st.

The joy of the Lucknow garrison on the arrival of Outram and Havelock was great, though the relieving force was very inconsiderable—only a little above two thousand men, while the rebels who disputed their entry

were about fifty thousand strong. The direction of operations was assumed by Gen. Outram, as senior in command ; but they were confined for the time merely to beating back the enemy, whom the English were not yet strong enough to drive away. Fresh relief came at last with the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, in November ; but, even with this addition, the total English army at Lucknow at this time did not exceed six thousand men. The operations of Sir Colin were necessarily confined to a series of isolated sieges and bombardments ; but he conquered his way step by step to the Residency, and the garrison were finally relieved on the 17th November, and afterwards conveyed to Cawnpore for greater security. Several attacks on the outposts at Cawnpore were made by the Gwálíor contingent which had arrived at that place, but these were repulsed ; and on the 6th December there was a general engagement, in which the enemy were completely defeated, after which they fled towards Bithoor.

Cawnpore being now safe, the Commander-in-Chief again advanced upon Lucknow, after active operations in the intervening country ; while Jung Báhádoor approached more slowly in the same direction from Nepál. The attack on Lucknow was made in March, 1858, the attacking army being about twenty-three thousand strong. The first few days were spent in skirmishes, after which the enemy commenced a series of assaults on the besieging force, which were invariably repelled. The English batteries opened fire on the 9th March, and on the 10th the first or outer line of defence was conquered. The resistance was desperate ; the contests extremely bloody. By the 17th the English were complete masters of the city ; but the dispersion of the rebel forces was not

effected till a long time after. Henceforth, the war all over India was only a war of pursuit, lengthened out more and more as the bands operated against began to split up and get scattered. Leader after leader was followed up and defeated; traitor after traitor captured and punished. The arch-traitor Náná alone eluded even the most vigorous pursuit made after him, and has not been taken to this day. Some believe that he is dead; but others assert that he is yet alive—either in Nepál or Thibet.

The proclamation announcing the suppression of the Mutiny was issued in 1859. Nothing more heroic than this reconquest of the country is to be found in the history of the world.

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CHAPTER XLIX.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

"THIS is a country well worth fighting for," exclaimed William of Orange, when looking down from an elevated position on one of the beautiful landscapes of Ireland. The same, we believe, must have been the feeling of every invader of India from the time of Semiramis to that of Clive. It was her beauty, her richness, and her fertility that made her so long, what she seems to have always been from the remotest antiquity, the principal battle-field of Asia.

But this very misfortune appears to have conferred on her an advantage not of petty importance ; it made her the home of several martial races, albeit not so hardy as the races of the North. Our conquerors are accustomed to laud their own deeds of heroism ; and well they may do so for all that their arms have achieved.* But they should at the same time try to appreciate the heroism of a people that has fought and suffered—fought, to be defeated and trampled upon by stronger men—for not less than four thousand years. Clive won the battle of Plássey at the head of three thousand men ; five hundred and fifty years before him Buktyár Khiliji conquered Bengal at the head of eighteen horsemen only. But because Bengal has never fought for her freedom it does not follow that all India has not done so. Stabrobates repelled the Assyrian army from

the banks of the Indus ; Alexander would never have conquered Porus but for the latter's differences with Taxilus and Porus the Younger ; Mahomed Ghorî was defeated by Prithu Ráj at the battle of Tirourî, and only succeeded afterwards in consequence of the feud between Prithu and Jayachánd ; Báber, after conquering the Pátháns, was all but defeated by Sanga, who had unfortunately no artillery to silence the Mogul guns ; and Áhmed Sháh Dooráni was so violently dealt with by the Mahrattás at Pániput that, though victorious, he wisely refrained from assuming the throne of Delhi.

The notion that India fell an easy prey to the Mahomedans is an utter fallacy. The Mahomedan invasions were commenced in the seventh century, while the throne of Delhi was not acquired till the twelfth. Spain and Gaul were overrun by the followers of Islám within shorter periods ; but Rájput valour presented a greater obstacle in India, which it cost them very much greater trouble to subdue. The Rájputs were reckless warriors. We read as usual accounts that they preferred to destroy their wives and children in a funeral pyre and then die fighting to a man rather than submit ; and such combatants are never easy to reduce. It is a fact that the Mahomedans were never able to conquer the whole of India ; and it is hardly less so that, if the English had not appeared on the scene, the Mahrattás would have re-established Hindu supremacy over the ruins of the Mogul Empire.

The British Empire in India was founded by Clive and Warren Hastings, and afterwards more thoroughly established by Lords Wellesley, Hastings, and Dalhousie ; and there is no doubt that the success of the English arms was mainly attributable to the vigour and decision

of character of the English race. But even the English have had ample occasion to know—at Seringápatám, Assaye, Chillianwálláh, and elsewhere—that the natives can fight, and fight well,—not only from the valour of the enemies by whom they were opposed, but from that of the very hirelings who fought on their behalf. If these pages enforce any conviction it is this that, particular provinces excepted, India is peopled throughout by fighting races, who may have been frequently defeated in the past, but were at all times ready to fight again. The science of war was not well understood by them; and hence in the battles waged by them they always trusted to their numbers and their courage. But the men who came forward to fight were not spiritless cowards. Under French training the Sikhs and the Mysoreans became, what the English found them to their cost, almost as good soldiers as any that the second-rate European countries have ever turned out: and those who have had English training are in no respects inferior to them at this day.

This then may be admitted, that there are in India itself the best materials required for her defence, and that if the Government be able to utilise those materials properly, it can never have occasion to apprehend the brightest gem of the British crown being snatched away by a foreign hand. We do not believe that Russia has any designs on India; but, even if she had, she has no chance whatever of success, unless the English be untrue to themselves. Of the latest invaders Nádir Sháh brought with him an army variously estimated at between seventy and one hundred and sixty thousand men, while Áhmed Sháh's army, it is known, was about eighty thousand strong. In our day the Sikh armies, that opposed the English and were de-

feated, were never less than fifty thousand strong ; but it would be a compliment to the Russian army to say that it is equal in soldierly qualities to the Khálsá host. Unless, therefore, Russia can send down to India a trained army of eighty thousand men—which means a total force not less than one hundred and sixty thousand strong, for half the number must be left on the route to hold it and keep it open—she has no business in India. For an army eighty thousand strong the English Government seems to be pretty well prepared at all moments, having a European army in India of about sixty-five thousand men, and a native army of about one hundred and twenty-five thousand men, with a reserve of nearly four hundred thousand, half disciplined soldiers retained by the Native States. To oppose a stronger army there are suitable and ample materials at hand which can be easily made serviceable.

This, all comers should understand, is the actual position of England in India. In the calculation, however, we assume peace and accord within India itself ; and it is here that the real difficulty of the English Government lies. If the English are disliked in India, that is owing less to mistakes in their policy than to their haughty temper, by which they have created more enemies about them than by any official irregularity. Misgovernment and neglect in the administration are now things of the past ; a very intelligent acquaintance with the country has been acquired by its rulers, which has already led to great improvement in the condition of the people. But the English governing officers in the country have not yet acquired what the French, for instance, would have mastered at the very outset, the art of making the natives their friends ; and all Britain should understand clearly that

till this art is acquired her hold on India must necessarily be insecure. The sword has nowhere been able ever long to retain the conquests made by itself ; and it would be well, alike for the governors and the governed, if it were even now distinctly understood that it was English pride only, and nothing else, that made the sepoy army mutinous. The Government has been loudly congratulating itself that it has got rid of a bad prop, that its present army is better constituted and more faithfully attached to it than was the last. But these are fallacious hopes and anticipations if the English in India fail continuously in the respect that is due to the rights and feelings of the races they rule over. Good government will master many impossibilities in the way of allaying irritation, and of securing a state of amity and good-will ; but it is good manners only that will insure their permanence. What is imperative, therefore, on the part of the English now is to look to their social manners as carefully as to their public policy and administrative efficiency. One lesson has been given, and a fearful lesson it was to all parties concerned. It depends on the rulers of the country themselves to prevent its being repeated.

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